

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

**RELIGION, THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE
HISTORY and SOCIOLOGY.**

Editor :

LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

Advisory Council :

EDGAR C. BARTON

ARCHIBALD W. HARRISON,

M.C., B.A., B.Sc., D.D.

WILBERT F. HOWARD, M.A., D.D.

ROBERT STRONG, M.A., B.Litt.

W. LANSDELL WARDLE, M.A., D.D.

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review is published on the 25th of March, June, September and December by the Epworth Press, 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1. It may be obtained from the publishers or any bookseller and from all Methodist ministers at 2s. 6d. a copy (postage 3d.) or 10s. per annum post free.

All contributions (typewritten if possible) should be addressed to The Editor, 'The London Quarterly and Holborn Review,' 25-35, City Road, E.C.1. with stamped addressed envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

JULY, 1937

CONTENTS

(Biographical sketches of contributors p. iv.)

ARTICLES :

ADOLF DEISSMANN: THE MAN AND HIS

WORK

WILBERT F. HOWARD, M.A., D.D.

THE HISTORY OF A SYMBOL

(Mrs.) C. A. F. REYS DAVIDS

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

ALFRED E. GARVIE, M.A., D.D.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

FREDERICK J. BRISCOE

SOCRATES—A POEM

By R. SCOTT FRAYN, M.A., B.D.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS :

JOHN WESLEY AND MATTHEW PRIOR

T. B. SHEPHERD, M.A.

RELIGION IN TRANSITION

PERCY S. CARDEN

JOHN WESLEY AND DIVINE GUIDANCE

FREDERICK GREENEVILLE, M.A.

BROTHERHOOD ECONOMICS

THOMAS W. BEVAN

ADOLF DEISSMANN: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

F. BERTRAM CLOGG, M.A., B.D.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

MINISTERS IN COUNCIL

W. E. FARNDALE

RECENT LITERATURE: Theology and Apologetics; History, Biography and Travel; General.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE: British, American, Foreign.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>WILBERT F. HOWARD,
M.A., D.D.</p> | <p>Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, and Classics, Handsworth College. Author of <i>The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism</i> (Farnley Lecture, 1931), &c. &c.</p> |
| <p>RHYS DAVIDS (Mrs.)</p> | <p>Authority on Buddhist Philosophy. Author of <i>Buddhist Psychological Ethics, Psalms of the Early Buddhists</i>, &c. &c.</p> |
| <p>ALFRED E. GARVIE,
M.A., D.D., D.Th.</p> | <p>Late Principal of Hackney and New College, late Dean of the Faculty of Theology, London University. Author of <i>The Christian Idea for Human Society</i>, &c.</p> |
| <p>F. BROMPTON HARVEY</p> | <p>Methodist Minister, Barwell, Leicester. Contributor to the <i>Times Literary Supplement</i>, the <i>Contemporary Review</i>, the <i>Nineteenth Century and After</i> and <i>The London Quarterly Review</i>, &c.</p> |
| <p>FREDERICK J. BRISCOE</p> | <p>Missionary in the Transvaal, South Africa, 36 years. Keenly interested in the Native Question. Writes with authority.</p> |
| <p>T. B. SHEPHERD, M.A.</p> | <p>Was a student, Westminster Training College, gained his M.A. on the period of his article on Wesley and Prior.</p> |
| <p>PERCY S. CARDEN</p> | <p>Methodist Minister, Ashington, Northumberland.</p> |
| <p>FREDERIC GREEVES, M.A.</p> | <p>Methodist Minister, Epsom.</p> |
| <p>THOMAS W. BEVAN</p> | <p>Methodist Minister, Great Horton, Bradford. Student of Christian Economics.</p> |
| <p>F. BETRAM CLOGG,
M.A., B.D.</p> | <p>Tutor at Richmond College. The Lamplough Chair of New Testament Language and Literature, and Classics. Author of <i>Introduction to the New Testament</i>.</p> |
| <p>W. E. FARNDALE</p> | <p>Chairman of the Lincoln and Grimsby District. A leader of Ministerial Groups and Associations.</p> |

THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

JULY, 1937

ADOLF DEISSMANN: THE MAN AND HIS WORK

ON the seventh of November, 1936, Adolf Deissmann's seventieth birthday was celebrated in Berlin. Ten years earlier his colleagues and former students had presented him in German fashion with a *Festschrift*. This time the anniversary was kept in high festival. Letters and telegrams from friends, from learned societies, and from scholars all over the world came pouring in all day in a ceaseless flood of congratulations. Books and flowers were showered upon him. Pictures and plants were sent to recall his beloved homes on the banks of the Lahn, the Rhine and the Dill. The Press entered into the rivalry of felicitation. But the climax of the day's rejoicings was reached at an evening reception held in the house of his son Ernst in Berlin. Here two presentations were made on behalf of a committee of New Testament scholars who were old students of Deissmann's. Professor Martin Dibelius unveiled a bronze bust of Adolf Deissmann, made by the Berlin sculptor, Gerhard Schliepstein. This is to stand in the room in the New Testament Seminar of the Berlin University so long associated with the honoured name of Deissmann. A replica was offered to the Professor's family. An album was then presented, containing the autograph greetings of about three hundred friends from many lands and churches. How deeply his heart was moved by this demonstration of affection and respect is evident in every line of the printed letter which Deissmann sent to all the subscribers to this birthday celebration. It is now a happy memory that such honour was shown to one of the greatest biblical scholars, and one of the most effective promoters of international goodwill in this generation, before it was too late. For before April was half over this great Christian leader had been called home.

It is for others to write about Deissmann's appearance in his lecture room at Heidelberg and in Berlin, or to describe his influence in such ecumenical assemblies as those that met at Stockholm and Lausanne. The writer's personal memories are limited to a garden party given in honour of his guest by his friend, Professor J. H. Moulton, at Didsbury in the summer of 1913, to a number of meetings when Deissmann was lecturing at Woodbrooke during February and March, 1923, and to a week-end at Bern at the opening of the second *Ost-westliche Theologenkonferenz* held in that charming city at the beginning of September, 1930. On that occasion Professor Deissmann and Archbishop Söderblom came on from a committee of the Faith and Order Conference which had just met at Mürren in order to give their blessing to this adventure in international biblical study and ecclesiastical fellowship. Whenever one was in his presence he made an impression of gracious dignity. His bearing was that of a German savant. His tall, broad figure, his dome-like brow, his full black beard, gave a nobility to his appearance. Yet there was an entire absence of pomposity in his manner, and his kindliness in conversation had no touch of patronage.

Two memories of the twin series of Woodbrooke lectures on 'The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul' stand out after fourteen years. After one of the Pauline lectures, when questions were invited, a long-winded fundamentalist got up to ventilate his own views. The moment he began Dr. Deissmann rose and stood upright listening with attentive courtesy to the rambling harangue. When at last the man sat down the lecturer replied in most respectful tones, 'I think that that was not a question'. The audience which had with difficulty suppressed its annoyance at the bore was now convulsed with laughter at his discomfiture. Only Deissmann himself looked a little distressed at the thought that he might unwittingly have seemed rude.

After one of the lectures on the Religion of Jesus a lady asked a question about the cursing of the fig-tree. Deissmann

asked to be allowed to give his answer next time. Before starting the next lecture the following week he made a statement which is a revelation of the man himself.

'I want shortly to answer the interesting question about the passage recording the cursing of the fig tree. I regard this as a tradition of secondary value. I cannot bring it into unity with the general picture of Jesus which tradition gives us. Jesus could not expect in spring to find ripe figs on a tree. Even if it had been the right time for ripe figs, and He had found the tree without fruit, His reported attitude towards this part of God's creation cannot be understood. To destroy a fruit tree without necessity appears to me to be absolutely sinful. I may perhaps here introduce a short story of an experience with a fig tree which I myself had. Years ago in the beautiful Rhine country, my mother had grown a fig tree from a cutting. When she had to leave the house on the death of my father, she gave me the fig tree. At that time I was professor in Heidelberg, and the tree often bore fruit. The tree was growing in a tub. I took it with me to Berlin, and could every year at the middle of February bring a twig of it to show to the students when I discussed the parable of the Fig Tree: "When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near." At that time the twigs always bore their first green shoots. Then one hard winter, the tree was frozen. To me that was a very sad experience, because the tree was connected with some of the most beautiful years of my youth. Since that time it has become to me even more difficult to accept that Jesus could have destroyed a fig tree, simply because at a time when it could not have any fruit it did not have any.'

He then sketched the three stages in the development of this tradition, in a way that will interest every reader of that delightful set of lectures.¹

No description of the character of the man could be silent about his attitude during the war. Deissmann's visits to England, and his many close friendships with scholars in this country (notably Dr. Rendel Harris and Professors J. Hope Moulton and George Milligan), had convinced him of the need of Anglo-German friendship. He intended to send his son to an English school. Then came the bolt from the blue, and the crash of war. All his patriotic instincts were stirred in the defence of the Fatherland. He edited a weekly paper which continued from 1914 till 1921, and which, in its English translation as the *Protestant Weekly Letter*, served

¹ See *The Religion of Jesus*, pp. 98-100 (Hodder & Stoughton, 1923).

as valuable German propaganda until America entered the war, after which the English edition ceased to appear. Some baseless statements published in this sheet about the alleged ill-treatment of German missionaries in the streets of Liverpool in the course of their repatriation or internment strained the friendship of many who wished to rise above the senseless animosities of a time of war. But the personal links were not broken. His friend Moulton treasured a post-card which had reached him through a Swiss neutral, which contained a sentence from the Greek text of Revelation xxi. 4: 'And He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more; neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain any more.'

But the Christian spirit went into action. It so happened that an English friend was interned in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and Deissmann heard of it. During his Professorship at Heidelberg, Deissmann had come to know an Oxford scholar who was Lecturer in English in the University, and it was Mr. Lionel R. M. Strachan's brilliant translation of three of his books¹ that had done so much to win him so many readers in this country. Mr. Strachan has told the story in his preface to the last English edition of *Light from the Ancient East*.

'The circumstances under which the revision was undertaken are described in the author's Preface. I should like to add that between 22 Nov., 1914, and 23 April, 1918, a certain portion of the time given to "fostering Christian solidarity" was spent in tedious journeys half-way round Berlin to visit his English translator in internment either at Plötzensee Prison or at Ruhleben. Every two months or so a long, weary journey was undertaken just for the sake of cheering an enemy alien by half-an-hour's talk under the eye of soldiers in a guard-room; 21 visits were paid in all, permission having to be obtained for each, not without difficulty, from the military authorities. Rare indeed was the privilege. And the visitor never came empty-handed, but brought with him mental pabulum and always some creature comforts, even when the pinch was being felt in the homes of Germany. ἐν φυλακῇ ἦμην, καὶ ἤλθετε πρὸς με.'²

¹ *The Philology of the Greek Bible* (Hodder, 1908), *Light from the Ancient East* (Hodder, 1910, latest and greatly enlarged edition, 1927), *St. Paul* (Hodder, 1913, 2nd ed. translated by W. E. Wilson, 1926).

² Matt. xxv. 36: 'I was in prison, and ye came unto me.'

After the war all his strength was put forth in the *Evangelischer Wochenbrief* to promote international goodwill through the Christian Church. But it was not until the beginning of 1923 that he again visited England. All the war-time wounds were not yet healed, but Deissmann was deeply touched by the reception he met with, especially on the part of those who had been neither pacifists nor pro-Germans in the years of war. Professor James Moffatt travelled all the way from Glasgow to Oxford to be present at a complimentary dinner. At a lunch given to him by the Theological Faculty at Manchester University, Deissmann said that all through the war it had been a comfort when thinking of England to remember 'the kind eyes of Professor Peake'. Everywhere he went he found nothing but affectionate admiration. It is not the way of the Englishman to cherish old enmities. But there was one familiar face missing. The foul submarine outrage perpetrated in the Gulf of Lyons on that black April day in 1917 had robbed the world of New Testament scholarship of one of its brightest ornaments, and Deissmann himself of his dearest English friend.

The story of that friendship is merged in the story of the way in which two scholars found in the papyri the key to a new understanding of the Greek Bible. A turning point in Deissmann's career, as also in the linguistic study of the New Testament, came on the day when the young Pastor at Marburg chanced to pick up a recent publication from the table in the University Library. It was the latest instalment of the *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*. Unlike most of the great editions of the Greek papyri from Egypt the early volumes of the Berlin documents were not printed, but lithographed. The various scholars who transcribed and edited the documents copied out the Greek text by hand and appended their signatures. The indexes, which were added when the several parts were ready for binding into a volume, alone were printed. When young Deissmann picked up one of these parts his notice was caught by the signature of

a friend. Before long his deeper interest was aroused, for he could not fail to observe how words and constructions which were familiar to him from his Greek Testament were meeting him on every page. This led him to a systematic study of the Greek papyri, which from that time were being discovered in ever increasing quantities and published by societies, universities and libraries in many European countries and in America. The first fruits of this new investigation appeared in two books, *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897), which were translated into English by Dr. Alexander Grieve and published by T. & T. Clark in 1901 under the title *Bible Studies*.

The purpose of this book, which marked the beginning of a new era in New Testament exegesis, is explained in its sub-title: 'Contributions chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity.' Two main contentions in the book are that the Septuagint is influenced by the Hebrew original which is translated and by the everyday use of words in the Greek spoken in Egypt, and that in the New Testament we must distinguish between the genuine letter and the literary epistle. All through the book examples are given of the light thrown upon the vocabulary of the Greek Bible by the words found in the papyri and the inscriptions. The Hebrew idioms of the Septuagint gave rise to a 'written Semitic-Greek which no one ever spoke, far less used for literary purposes, either before or after'. Yet again and again the papyri explain the use of a Greek word in the LXX which has puzzled the commentators. Thus in Joel i. 20 and Lam. iii. 4-7 the Hebrew words for *water-brooks* and *rivers of water* are both translated by a Greek word¹ which means *releases*. Now we have quite a number of papyrus documents from the Ptolemaic age which show that the phrase *to release the water* is the technical term for to open the sluices for irrigation, and the noun is often used in the

¹ ἀφέσεις.

corresponding sense. Thus we can see how the translators of Lam. iii. 4-7 rendered by *release of waters*, the Hebrew phrase for *streams of water* breaking forth before the eyes of the people—'not indeed verbally, but on behalf of their own readers, by transferring into the Egyptian dialect the image which was so expressive for the Palestinians. Similarly the distress of the land in Joel i. 20 is made more vivid for the Egyptians by the picture of the carefully-collected water of the *canals* becoming dried up shortly after the opening of the sluices (*the releases of water were dried up*), than it would be by speaking of dried-up brooks'. This is an interesting example of what we might call the translators' relativity in the use of words. But Deissmann showed that this process of transmutation of ideas by translation of words went much further. His pamphlet, *The Hellenizing of Semitic Monotheism*,¹ is a striking contribution to the study of the Septuagint as a *praeparatio evangelica* for the Christian mission in Greek-speaking lands. For this side of his work Deissmann acknowledged his debt to what at the time must have seemed a misfortune. When he began his linguistic study of the Greek Bible Hatch and Redpath's Concordance to the LXX had only reached the first two or three letters of the alphabet. As he wished to examine the uses of the Greek preposition *ἐν* he was obliged to read through the whole of the LXX to discover what he wanted. Thus he gained a knowledge of the Greek Old Testament which would probably never have been his but for the want of a concordance.

This research into the use of a Greek preposition resulted in a dissertation, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, which he published while a *Privatdocent* at Marburg in 1892. In this we find the germ of two of the ideas which were to attain such striking development in his later books. He was already discussing the question whether there was such a thing as 'Jewish-Greek', and he was already studying the importance of the Pauline formula for the mystic union

¹ *Die Hellenisierung des Semitischen Monotheismus* (Teubner, 1903).

of the Christian with his Lord. Yet there is an immense gap between this pamphlet of 136 pages and the *Bibelstudien* of three years later. The LXX and the New Testament have been ransacked for examples, and considerable use is made of Greek literature, but there is no mention of the papyri. As we have already seen, the opening up of this new vein of ore brought immense wealth to Deissmann's treatment of the language of the New Testament. He showed that the word used by St. Paul for his 'collection' for the saints at Jerusalem was not a new word coined by Paul, but was in common use in Egypt two centuries earlier. The use of the Greek word translated Elder as a technical term in Egypt for the holder of a communal office may suggest its early use for an official in the primitive Church, especially as inscriptions prove that the same use is attested in Asia Minor. But it is also found as an official title of pagan priests, and in the papyri it shows a tendency towards this sense. The bearing of this lexical fact upon ecclesiastical history is evident. 'What is of importance for the history of the word is the circumstance that it was used as a distinctive appellation of priests in particular. The transformation of the early Christian *elders* into the Catholic *priests*, so extremely important in its consequences, was of course facilitated by the fact that there already existed *elder priests* or *priestly elders*, of whom both the designation and the institution were but waiting for admission into a church which was gradually becoming secularized.' Another word received welcome light from contemporary usage, the *mark* of the Beast. The word so translated is the name of the imperial seal, giving the year and the name of the reigning emperor (possibly also his effigy), and found on bills of sale and similar documents of the first and second centuries. The apocalypticist has made a free use of this prototype. The number is at the same time symbolic and cryptogrammatic, and the imagery of the Beast is taken from ancient myth, as developed in apocalyptic. But the contemporary allusion is unmistakable.

Sometimes we pass from the lexical to the theological. A generation later than this Professor C. H. Dodd was to show from the LXX the real meaning of the word¹ used by Paul in the great statement of Rom. iii. 25. But the first step in this process of linguistic exegesis was taken by Deissmann. His long examination of the biblical use (where no papyrological help can be looked for) ends with the judgement that 'the crucified Christ is the votive-gift of the Divine Love for the salvation of men'.

The book by which Deissmann deserves to be remembered longest is his great work, *Light from the Ancient East*. It is as fascinating as it is comprehensive. It opens up the whole field of investigation by means of inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca. It illustrates the gains to our study both of the grammar and of the vocabulary of the Greek Testament from these new sources. It illustrates both the literary and the non-literary portions of the New Testament. But, above all, the social and religious background of the Christian mission is illustrated with a wealth of information and of photographs. Almost every page of this book bristles with points for the student of the New Testament and for the Christian preacher. Space will only allow a very few examples. How many who read Rev. i. 10, recognize the note of challenge that lies within that phrase, 'the Lord's Day'? The new texts have shown us that a particular day in every month received the name *Sebaste*, that is 'Augustus Day'. The Christians, in their protest against the imperial cult, with its Emperor's Day, named the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, in celebration of the triumph over death of Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords. Or let us turn from the Lord to those who are proud to be called His bondservants. There are two phrases in Galatians and one in 1 Corinthians which carry an allusion to the wide-spread institution of slavery, part of the very fabric of the social order of the world of St. Paul's day. 'For freedom did Christ set us free.' 'Ye were

¹ ἰλαστήριον.

called for freedom.' 'Ye are not your own. Ye were bought with a price.' All these are formulae regularly used in the legal process of the manumission of slaves. No finer illustration of Deissmann's vivid use of his documents could be given than his treatment of these phrases in Paul's letters.

'Among the various ways in which the manumission of a slave could take place by ancient law we find the solemn rite of fictitious purchase of the slave by some divinity. The owner comes with the slave to the temple, sells him there to the god, and receives the purchase money from the temple treasury, the slave having previously paid it in there out of his savings. The slave is now the property of the god; not, however, a slave of the temple, but a protégé of the god. Against all the world, especially his former master, he is a completely free man; at the utmost a few pious obligations to his old master are imposed upon him.'

Then follows a transcript of an inscription from Delphi.

'Date. Apollo the Pythian *bought* from Sosibius of Amphissa, *for freedom*, a female slave, whose name is Nicaea, by race a Roman, *with a price* of three minae of silver and a half-mina. Former seller according to the law: Eumnastus of Amphissa. The *price* he has received. The purchase, however, Nicaea has committed to Apollo, *for freedom*.' (Names of witnesses, &c., follow.)

Now let Deissmann apply the parallel.

'A Christian slave of Corinth going up the path to the Acrocorinthus about Eastertide, when Paul's letter arrived, would see towards the north-west the snowy peak of Parnassus rising clearer and clearer before him, and everyone knew that within the circuit of that commanding summit lay the shrines at which Apollo or Serapis or Asclepius the Healer *bought slaves with a price, for freedom*. Then in the evening assembly was read the letter lately received from Ephesus, and straightway the new Healer was present in spirit with His worshippers, giving them freedom from another slavery, *redeeming with a price*, the bondmen of sin and the law—and that price no pious fiction, first received by Him out of the hard-earned denarii of the slave, but paid by Himself with the redemption-money of His daily new self-sacrifice, rousing up *for freedom* those who languished in slavery.'¹

More popular and less technical are the later books, *St. Paul* and *The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul*. The former was written while the author was still under the spell that eastern skies had thrown over him. He had sailed in a pilgrim

¹ *Light from the Ancient East*, translated by L. R. M. Strachan (2nd ed. Hodder & Stoughton, 1927), pp. 322, 329.

steamer in the Levant and had followed in the footsteps of St. Paul. Everywhere we feel the atmosphere of travel. The two principal thoughts are that Paul the missionary was an artisan, a man of the people, and that he was a mystic and not a theologian. These are unfortunate exaggerations of truths that need to be emphasized. The social status of Paul is not affected by the fact that his father followed a well-known rabbinic precept in seeing that the son was taught a craft. Unless Luke is quite unreliable, Paul had a status which commanded the respect of Roman proconsuls and military officers. But Deissmann did well to remind us of the free and unstudied style in which Paul dictated his letters. He can never be mistaken for a literary *poseur*. It is also a great gain to have Paul delivered from the bonds of theological system-builders. Deissmann rightly emphasized the religion rather than the theology of the Apostle. But it may well be doubted whether he ever did full justice to the reasoned and coherent thought in the Apostle's teaching. It was this lack that led Professor James Denney, on the first appearance of this book, to write that interesting as are the three chapters entitled 'Paul the Christian' they would be even better than they are 'if the writer could persuade himself that Paul not only felt but thought, that his experience as a Christian raised intellectual problems for him, and that a man may be interested in his thinking in what he himself calls his "type of teaching", without exposing himself to the taunt of having no sense for his experience'. For Deissmann Paul's religion is a Christian mysticism, explained by his experience of conversion. From that time all is summed up in the term 'in Christ'. Justification, reconciliation, forgiveness, redemption, adoption, are all metaphors used to describe this wonderful state of union with God in Christ. They are not to be analysed and then related to one another in a theological system. He even found a special type of genitive case in Paul's grammar when he uses such phrases as 'the faith of Christ', 'the love of Christ', 'the hope of Christ', 'the peace of Christ',

'the meekness and gentleness of Christ', 'the tender mercies of Christ', 'the patience of Christ', 'the obedience of Christ', 'the truth of Christ', 'the fear of Christ', 'the sufferings of Christ', and 'the afflictions of Christ'. To this he gave the name of the *genitivus communionis*, or the mystical genitive. 'Throughout it is understood that these special experiences or assurances of the soul in the Christian come about through the mystical-spiritual fellowship with Christ.'

A most interesting suggestion was thrown out in the Woodbrooke lectures and then incorporated in the later edition of his *Paul*. In German there are two words with widely differing meanings, *Mysticismus* and *Mystik*, which may both be translated into English by mysticism. But the former is depreciatory and the latter is used in both a narrower and in a wider sense. To remove misunderstanding Deissmann distinguishes between acting mysticism and reacting mysticism. We can study mysticism by considering its varying types according to their origin or their results. When we investigate the origin the decisive matter is the initiative. 'Who is it that gave in the first instance the impulse to the mystical movement of the soul? Man approaches God, or God approaches man. Mysticism of performance or mysticism of grace. Striving mysticism and mysticism of the divine gift.' Again, if we look at results, the aim of mysticism is either *unio* or *communio*, oneness with God or fellowship with God, either loss of the human personality in God or sanctification of the personality through the presence of God. One of the most illuminating passages in the second edition of *Paul* is Deissmann's exposition of the Pauline mysticism as reacting and as *communio*. One has only to study fully the implications of Gal. ii. 20 to see how just is this description of the Pauline teaching on the great experience of union with Christ.

Next in importance to this contribution to our understanding of the Pauline theology comes his treatment of the cult-history of primitive Christianity. He distinguishes again

between 'cult' and 'cultus', using the former to connote 'a practical dependence upon, a practical attitude towards, the deity on the part of a single individual or of a community'; whereas 'cultus' is used in the more limited sense of 'the solemnities practised in worship by an organized religious body and of the formal expression of these solemnities'. This leads to an important conclusion. 'The sacred history of these early days actually had the source of its inner progress in the fact that the Messianic movement released through the Gospel of Jesus, with its thoroughly practical attitude towards the approaching end of the world and the immediately expected Kingdom of God, in the end was historically consolidated into a cult, a cult of Jesus as Lord. To put it into other words: the Gospel became transformed into Christianity.' But here again, as with mysticism, we must distinguish between an acting and a reacting cult. The age-long struggle between these two types in the Church has its exemplar in the conflict between Law and Faith, first in the Apostle's own breast, and then in the Church of his time.

The work of Adolf Deissmann in the field of New Testament study has been epoch-making on the philological side. He has also done much to reconstruct out of the inscriptions and ephemeral documents of the contemporary world the social and religious background of the Graeco-Roman age. His gifts were those of the historian rather than of the constructive thinker, and his treatment of the Pauline theology suffers accordingly. But few modern writers have done more to set before our very eyes Paul the pioneer Christian missionary, or to make our hearts glow with a kindred warmth as he expounds the living and adoring faith of one who had been crucified with Christ and yet lives in mystic fellowship with Him who loved the sinner and gave Himself for him.

W. F. HOWARD.

THE HISTORY OF A SYMBOL

I USE here the word symbol, not merely as one among many other figures or similes used to enhance the teaching of a religion, but in the more dominant sense in which the cross became the symbol of Christianity and the crescent that of Islam. It is admitted, at least in the learned world, that the cross has a pre-Christian history, and no less could be claimed for the pre-Islamic crescent. But I have yet to see due historic treatment given to the corresponding symbol—I might almost say, the twin symbol—of Buddhism: the road and its symbolic graph, the wheel. The status of a symbol may vary; it may rise in value; and it may fall without the religion it symbolizes falling, that is, perishing, with it. Its varied fortunes will depend on changing values within the religion with which it is associated. These two Buddhist figures, once held in real value, have had the curious fate, that the one, though weakened in truth and dignity, has remained honoured, while the other has lost all the value that it once had, that is, the value of pointing to a More in the teaching linked with it.

An interesting testimonial to this double fact was shown by Rudyard Kipling, writing of a deeper truth than he may have known about, in his attractive story, *Kim*. We most of us know the good old Tibetan lama, pilgrimaging to India, ever seeking the Way, while ever speaking with dread and repulsion of the Wheel. 'And they are all bound to the Wheel, said the lama, bound from one life to another. To none has the Way been shown.'

It is surely time we saw this matter in a better historical perspective than could the good lama or his gifted creator. I have done my little best to show such a perspective in the great collection of parables—all in a way symbols—contained in the Pali Canon: how we can see a gradual change in religious values dictating these, from the growing lotuses attending

the birth of the Buddhist gospel, and the road or way belonging to its first utterance, and others dealing also with growth and progress, to the greater number with the monastic birthmark on them, pointing to ill and trouble and dread and fear of life. I would now take three of these similes that we find used in a bigger way, as symbolic of the teaching itself viewed as a unity, and seek in them an evolution in the ideas to which they bear witness.

Buddhism is, like another great world-religion, often referred to by those within and without alike, as a trinity, either a trinity of refuges (*saraṇa*) or—this later—a trinity of jewels (*ratana*). The three are Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha—teacher, doctrine, followers or church. Now these three find, once only in the Canon, symbolic representation as a threefold banner. The word is *dhaj'agga*: literally top of the flag, albeit I am not sure whether anything resembling our pennant or standard was meant. (Thus the Commentary says, that when it was struck, it emitted musical tones.) The one sutta mentioning it is in the early portion of the third in the four chief collections (*nikāya*) of Sayings (it was long before these became writings or 'scripture'), viz. in the XIth chapter of the Verse-section (*Sakka-samyutta*). Sakka (or Indra), governor of the next world, warring against the (?) preceding Iranian deities called *Āsūras* (Ahura), exhorts his officers: Sirs, if you in the thick of battle are gripped by fear, terror, gooseskin of fright, just look up to the top of my banner and you will lose all fear. Or, if you don't, look up to the top of the banner of *Prajāpati*, or of *Varuṇa*, or of *Īsāna*, and you will lose all fear. Just so, the Saying goes on—spoken, it is alleged, by the Founder Gotama—when a *sāmaṇā*, a monk, alone in the depth of the forest is overcome by fear, terror, gooseflesh of fright, let him only think on the Teacher (*bhagavā*), or if that suffices not, on Dhamma . . . or on the Sangha, and he will lose all fear.

Here, no less than in the Crescent, we have a common symbol for a corporate religion. It did not, however, as we

say, 'catch on'; I have not met with the simile elsewhere, either in Saying, or in stone or other graphic shape. Nor can it be one that the *first* teachers will have so put into words. Why? Because the central object in their teaching appears to have been, at the close of the Founder's life, made clear and emphatic, in terms which clash with this idea of an ecclesiastical trinity. In these terms he resolved into a saving unity, not three notions, but two; the very two terms with which we find him beginning his public mission: these are *attā* (*atmā*, the self, conceived as the indwelling Deity) and *dhamma* (*dharma*, the 'ought-to-be'), conscience or duty, conceived as inward monitor. 'Were it not better that you sought the Self?' and 'whoso longs for the great Self let him revere *dhamma*': so he began. 'Live as they who have the Self and Dhamma as lamp, as refuge, and no other': so he ended. It is not likely that he will have commended both the trinity cited above and this duality—a duality maintained, as we see, from first to last, so that there cannot reasonably be raised the question, whether he expanded (?) his gospel from this to a trinity. We have but this to decide upon: which of the two, the duality or the trinity, is more truly the teaching of Gotama: the current teaching of seeking the Self, with the deepened conception of the Self in Dhamma, or the bidding of the growing monk-vogue, with its own peculiar values, in which Gotama was deified?

To return to the banner-symbol: I would have it noted, that when applied in the Saying quoted, it becomes just a word, a trinity of words: Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha. This is highly noteworthy, since I believe I am right in saying, that words, spoken words, and not any sort of graphic things, are Aryan India's oldest and most genuine symbols. I do not ignore the graphic symbols brought to light in the Indus-valley excavations, but I find nothing surviving in India to form an unbroken continuation between these and the sculpture that seems no older than the third century B.C.¹

¹ When Greek influence became felt.

Till then India appears to have refused to spread her culture graphically for all to see, even in writing. For her a thing was only really impressive as long as it was alive. Cut in stone, painted in fresco, it stiffened into a dead thing, a fossil. It is true, that the Pitaka sayings refer to what seem to be frescoes: the painter (*chittakāra*), with colours and panel or wall, fashioning shapes, but we have no clear proof that such sayings dated from before the third century, the earliest date in which we hear of any sayings that can be traced to the Piṭakas. Earlier India, to be aesthetically moved, needed movement, needed above all the living word, the 'divine word' (*daivi-vag*) as her teacher called speech.¹ I venture to think, it has not been duly stressed, that the rock edicts of Asoka were not only for their messages highly interesting, but also for this, that they were a novelty in Indian culture, the very probable result of Greek influences, which broke in upon India nearly a century earlier led by Alexander the Great, or possibly by preceding expansion of commerce, the conqueror following the merchant. I say it all subject to correction, but I hold that for India the symbol lay in the spoken word. For the audible word was the man himself. In the word he revealed himself, he gave himself to the other man, to the world. That in silence, no less, was something divine would seem to have come later, conceived perhaps only when there had come a worsening of the word. Then only perhaps is it that we hear of 'the noble silence', refrain of the Pitakas; then only is it that we find the *muni* or seer, the Vedic meaning of which was the man under an urge, held to mean the silent one:

So I in silent study pondering
shall to the silence of the seers attain,
as glides great Gangā's river to the main.²

Even to-day the 'word' plays, in the thought of Buddhists concerning their religion, a far greater part than does the

¹ *aham monena monissam. Psalms of the Brethren*, ver. 168. Pali Text Soc. ed.

² *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*.

symbol. No symbol amounts for them to as much as does the cross for Christians. *I think it might*; but, as I have hinted, this is because they have weakened the one chief symbol and perverted the other, as we saw in *Kim*. And both have been, as symbols, virtually discarded in favour of the Sitter, the crosslegged sitting 'Buddha-rūpa', supreme type, *not* of the original Buddhism, but of the monastic ideal which superseded it, the image namely of the man conceived as done, finished in this life, in the utter calm of an ideal attained here.

Let us come to the weakening of the one symbol, that of the Road. We have here a very venerable notion: that of life as a whole being a wayfaring here and further. The oldest word seems to have been *yāna*, a going (the lengthened ē to go). In the early Upanishads we find *panthā* used, a word that is rather path than road:

An ancient path that stretches far away
for me is touched, is found even by me;
by it the wise, the Brahma-knowers rise
and go hence to the bright world,
thence higher yet set wholly free.

In the first utterance of the Buddhist gospel we come upon two other words: *paṭipadā* or course, and *maggā* or road or way. And here the way no longer shares place of honour with another simile, the likening of the discarded body to the sloughed snake-skin; it has become the one, the central figure in this gospel message. Before the man lie ways, roads, that he can choose; he must use his will; he is the seeker, the valuer, not the drifting log, the driven sheep. But he is given guidance. The road he should choose is the middle way between the active but uncurbed urge of the will and the over-regulated, over-disciplined will. And whither would this middle way lead him? Just whither his quest pointed; the quest of his Aim (*attha*). What was that?

It is not easy to render closely in English this word *attha* (Sanskrit *artha*). It is a corruption of the expanded root, *ṛ*, the rolled *ṛ*, which means reaching after, and also attaining.

It is the wanting, and the seeking what is wanting. Or better than that: it is the valuing and the seeking of what is valued. It is perhaps not so well known as it should be, that in the word 'aim', we have a broken down form of value:— 'estimate' (*eimen, aesmer, aestimare*). Without wishing to force into a term of to-day a lost meaning, it may be conceded, that in 'aim' we have something wanted, not merely in the way of an animal instinct or impulse, but to be pursued with a synergy of the very man or self and his instruments, body and mind, in a word, pursued by man's will.

Now this aim or *attha* to which the middle way leads is not further defined save in terms of what I am compelled to see as a later inserted gloss, and to put on one side. It is clear by other *attha*-contexts in the Sayings, that the word once conveyed something not less clear than is to Christians the word 'salvation'. It did so at least to the closer followers of the teaching, and was often equated with man's 'good and happiness'. In the case of folk in general we find it distinguished from worldly aims as meaning, in Gotama's teaching, 'otherworldly aim' (*attho samparāyiko*), a meaning which for Hīnayāna Buddhists and others is far too much lost to view.

And it is clear that no special definition of 'attha' is felt to be needed in that First Utterance, wherein one man, willing to help men to choose their highest welfare, is shown proposing to his friends, who are seeking to do no less, a plan in outline whereby that help might best be given. It is true, that, in the current religious teaching, man's religious quest was not worded as 'attha.' It was 'attā', the Self, the God within, rather than the other very similar word. But it must be remembered that, in the Pali Canon of earlier and later Buddhist 'Sayings', we have a new, later literary diction in the so-called Pali, or 'Row' (of words), a diction only so called when 'sayings' had begun to take linear shape as 'writings'. Language had in the interval been acquiring new terms for newly felt values. And it is worth noticing,

in passing, that the shifting from the older object of the religious quest: *attā*, to the newer term: *attha* is betrayed in the inner circle of Buddhist disciples: 'Thus do worthy young men declare their winning of salvation: they speak of *attha* (the Aim) and don't bring in the *attā* (Self).'

It does not follow that, in the substituted 'Aim', the 'becoming Brahman' of the current teaching was utterly lost; but it is certain, that the emphasis in the religious quest had been shifted; shifted from the Goal of the aim to the long Between that lay before man in his 'way' thither—the 'between' of growth by living ever more worthily. It was Everyman now who had to live the 'God-life': the *brahmachariya*, and not the young student only. That it was not on earth only that this aim had to be striven for is made clear by the qualifying term 'of other worlds' (*samparāyika*), but it is equally clear that, with *attha* replacing *attā*, a personal conception of the Highest faded, giving way to the monastic ideal of riddance from life and the living being, *as we yet comprehend these*. The middle way remained, but it became the wayfaring that supremely mattered, mattered more than Way's End.

Yet I have said that the way or road, as representative symbol or figure underwent weakening. What do I mean?

A Buddhist will never speak of the 'way' or 'path' (the word chosen by early translators); he will say 'the eightfold path'. The eight 'parts' (*atth' angika*) are so many ways of right thought, word and deed: an inadequate medley, even from the Buddhist point of view, into which I will not here go. My conviction is, from important evidence in a cluster of Sayings, that they were inserted to replace another earlier qualifying term which became obnoxious: *bhava* or becoming, a word which *came to be used* also for 'lives' and 'worlds'. These the monk-ideal viewed with repulsion. The 'way' was, for that ideal, to lead out from life; life became no more, as for the earlier India, a progress towards the fathers, the Gods, the One impersonal Deity. The prefix *bhava-* was

transferred to the fellow-symbol of the Wheel. This thereby won in significance and force, but the Way, with its new padding of words, lost correspondingly. The wayfaring, the wayfarer became blurred. The Way went on faintly reverberating down the centuries of exegesis, but of the Wayfarer, the very man, self, soul, it came to be said:

Way there is, but goer exists not!

So much more, for scholastic Buddhism, was the word the all-sufficing symbol, that he could, from his little inner world of the monastery, reduce life, for the earnest man, to a thing, not of golden opportunities, but something to be eradicated, and the 'way' to a set list of words indicating ideas about a human complex, whence the pith, the real man, was being ejected.

Let us deal further with the perverting of the twin symbol, the Wheel. What did I mean?

It is impossible to say, to what extent and when, the need of an impressive symbol made itself felt in the history of Buddhism. As a protestant movement so far as over-worth in ritual met with its disapproval, it will have been long before recourse to temple-worship will have called forth architectural impressiveness. And for a considerable time the 'monastery' was but a settlement (*āvāsa*), consisting of a group of single cells or *vihāras*, or a mountain cave. It may possibly have been when Buddhism began to flow over into other lands eastward, drawn it may be by the ancient culture of China seeking to learn 'the wisdom of the west', that the need of a credal 'banner' of some shape will have been felt. With such expansion the emperor Asoka has been too credulously credited, as I have tried to show. He, turning towards the *west*, whence came the meteoric partial conqueror of India, sent, not missionaries, but envoys, messengers (*dūtā*), seeking admission into the Hellenic comity of powers. But along the highway eastward through central Asia von Le Coq took photographs of ruined temples,

surmounted by great skeleton wheels, such as I have not seen in pictures of Indian monuments.

I have not seen any such survivals of a *Way made graphic*. And it is obvious, that a road does not lend itself to this. It is as word, as shibboleth that the road survives in Buddhism. For the first disciples the Founder was emphatically the Man of the Road, and not the 'eightfold path'. 'Have you any one like him?' his devoted kinsman and attendant was asked, after Gotama's decease. 'Nay,' was the reply, 'we have not. For he made appear a road that had not appeared, he made us perceive a road not perceived, he declared a road not before declared. . . .' But a road makes an ineffectual symbol; there could be but parallel lines, straight or spiral. Nor does the wayfarer make a simple distinctive self-explanatory figure, whether afoot or mounted. But on some auspicious day man had bethought him of placing beneath his mount a rolling ball, flattened, then skeletonized. He had invented the wheel. And so long as wheel and way formed an ever recurring tangent, there was progress, attainment.

Of these the wheel, symbol of symbol, had been representative before the birth of Buddhism. It was the symbol of conquest, the conquering king being known as leading his army after the mystic wheel rolling on before. It was legendary when the Pali Sayings were taking standardized shape, and the king himself was termed 'wheel-turner' (*chakravartin*). I do not wish to exaggerate its antiquity, for I do not find any such legend as is cited in those sayings in pre-Buddhist literature.¹ Rhys Davids indeed seems to have considered the picturesque account in the *Dīgha Suttanta* a 'fairy tale', invented to introduce the loftier alternative of a wheel not of conquest, but of God (Brahma), or of the Ideal (Dharma), turned by a world-helper. This I do not accept, because the

¹ A *chakravartin* finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*, but that epic covers a long literary period. Readers will find the legend and its Buddhist application in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S. B. Buddhists, vol. iii, No. XXVI.

wheel-turner was so far from being a special creation, that it formed part of the esoteric lore of augurs, in interpreting birthmarks. Thus, on the soles of certain babies, who were destined for conquest or for Messiahship, there would be the finished impress of a wheel with spokes.

For the 'Messiah' his task would lie in rolling back further the veil of the unseen shrouding man's nature, life and destiny. Here is how pious poetry showed such a man speaking:

By dharma do I turn the wheel,
the wheel that may not be turned back.

Who like thee turns this wheel of dharma peerless?
Sāriputta like me turns the wheel, wayfarer's worthy son.

And again:

For deva-worlds as for the worlds of men
he, the wayfarer, turned the wheel of God,

and other contexts from the Pitakas might be quoted.

Here then, albeit yet in word only, we see the wheel as symbolizing the dynamic gospel, in which Gotama tried to transform the immanent God-consciousness of his day into the active life of man—transforming the mantra 'That art thou' into 'That canst thou become, that thou shouldst and must become'.

That we have above words actually spoken, as spoken, by the Founder I would not say. The rhetoric put into his mouth will have been the pious inventions of cloistered students of a later date. For me those first sons of the Sakyas, as they called themselves, will have been far too much absorbed in teaching the real meaning of the way or road, to have sat spinning verses about its symbol, the wheel. In so far as a symbol is more than an esoteric sign, stumbled on as it were by chance, it will be a thing of slow growth. A simile, a parable is spoken to a listening group, or to one hearer alone. Easily remembered, it is repeated in teaching and finally canonized. But the symbol is something pointing to an already organized institution, the growth of many generations. We might better compare the ways of a Sakyan

missionary with those of an officer, sending out an outpost or vedette, with orders which would bear no reference to the colours, or what they stood for.

Some may say: Did not Jesus refer to a taking up the cross and following Him, before He suffered? Possibly the words are a true memory. But was the sight of a condemned man bearing his cross so unknown in those days in Palestine? 'Consider the lilies, how they grow!' 'Look at yon man carrying his cross and take up what may bring pain to you too in these days.' Nor is even the seen simile a necessary assumption. When men by man were tortured, baited, or burnt, language gained correspondingly, as our Shakespeare plays testify:

. . . upon the rack of this rough world
stretch him out longer.

We are at the stake
(and bayed about with many enemies.)

I will die in the opinion at the stake.

In just these ways may Jesus have referred to the cross, or, for that matter, Gotama to a road, or to a wheel as indicating progress and attainment. Neither will have meant a 'church' emblem. The figures used are none the less characteristic for that. Jesus, it is said, left 'joy, his joy' with His followers, but He also left with them acceptance of suffering and growth by suffering:—'a cross'. Gotama is made to rebel against suffering, but he also taught, in and through life (that is, lives), the need of growth or becoming That Who we truly, potentially, are:—'wayfaring.'

In the sixth century B.C. in India this meant ever an adventure, whether the traveller was a king out for conquest, or a merchant escorting his caravan, let alone the unarmed 'wanderer' or student seeking this or that teacher. Gotama's clan was not, then at least, associated with war, of defence or offence. But as the son of a highland *rājā* or laird—it was nothing more—in Nepal, he will have seen many a caravan arriving and departing; he may have assisted his father at

the pricing of imported wares, of which Indian books speak. He seems to have had 'Wanderlust', in his own venture in travel. And anyway, somehow he became in simile linked with the caravan. Poetry addressed him as *sattavāha*, a word in which I would rather see, not 'master-bringer', but *sa-attha-vāha*: bringer with the goods, the gains (*attha* was ever an elastic word).

Arise, thou hero, victor in the fight,
Thou owing none, lord of the caravan.

And the title was in later poems bestowed on other 'Buddhas'. The great corpus of Jātaka or 'birth' stories starts with two stories of caravan leaders. And in their lives, as touring missionaries most of the year, the Sakyans, with a charter bidding them 'Wayfare with a wayfaring for the good, the happiness of devas and of men', were given little chance to overlook so central a feature as was Way—the God-way—and the Wheel—wheel of the Better, the Right. Both the one and the other were figures of the new, the more dynamic gospel which, teaching both the divine goal and the reality and potency of the man, the very self, held that the man's very nature was not a being but a becoming. However much, and positively the after-men damned the word 'becoming', seeing in it no longer spiritual growth, but mere bodily and mental rebirth as so much vain repetition, they never ceased to enjoin exercises for the purpose of that spiritual growth. They evaded the word 'becoming' by using more and more the causative form of the verb: i.e. 'make-become', and 'making-become', a verbal noun now mistranslated as 'meditation' (*bhāvanā*).

But with this tragic difference. Man, the 'becomer', was not to make *himself* become, expanding his divine potency; he was to make this and that idea become, this and that quality, qualities where the 'substance', to speak in the classic way, had been dropped out. First the Divine in man was dropped—did it not belong to the brahmanic teaching between which and maturing 'Buddhism' the rift was ever

widening?—then the man himself was dropped out—was ‘he’, who could not be really ‘got at’, anything more than fleeting moments in a mere complex? Thus this strenuous and persistent endeavour in ‘making become’, which fills so many pages of Sayings, is no more for the purpose of actualizing in Godhead a divine potential in the very man; it is, so to hyperstimulate the growth both of virtue and yet of world-detachment in body and mind, that at death these would crumble (*palujjati*) to nothing, all force for vital renewal used up.

The *sāmaṇā* or ‘monk’—our nearest equivalent—had ‘gone forth’ from the ‘world’, as a life not worth living. The psychic teaching of his Founder had shown him a world where even well-doing was requited by a life in which enjoyment was, not less than on earth, a matter of mere bodily and mental enjoyment, ending also in collapse and dying. The ‘ill’ of all such life, as a bigger thing than its joys, had gripped him so tightly, that a doctor-gospel to end old age, illness and dying seemed the one thing worth following. It was no longer a Way ‘on’ that he wanted; it was a way ‘out’ (*nissaraṇa*); and such a doctor-gospel he thrust on to the shoulders of his revered Master. This materialistic conception of ill blotted out the real nature of the ‘man’ and his nobler quest.

With that the original symbolism in Way and Wheel was lost. I have dealt with the former; and only add the reminder, that in three notable conversations with laymen in the Sayings: with Visākhā and Anāthapiṇḍika, wealthy and devout patrons, and with Sigāla, the young dissenter, no word of the Way is said. The second, on his deathbed hears of it and protests at its being kept, as teaching, for the Order.

The Wheel, in its truer sense still surviving as the title of the very first Utterance: ‘the Saying on the Turning the Wheel of the Right,’ became severed from the Road it symbolized, where by the healthy friction of life it found

tangent and progress. It became linked with the notion of the futility of life; a suspended wheel uselessly revolving as wheel in squirrel's cage, or wheel of poor bound Ixion. The great word *bhava*: becoming, *Werden*, linked, may be, to it at first, in its original meaning, came to signify merely 'lives', 'worlds', no more viewed as precious opportunities—a view surviving only in the Jātaka, the life-stories of the spiritual evolution of the Founder—but only as so much tiresome repetition. And we get finally a picture of the debased wheel in the nihilistic exegesis of Buddhaghosa of the fifth century A.D.: . . . 'this wheel of *bhava* moving in its twelve parts by cause and effect without known beginning, an eddy of residual vices, actions and results, itself and its parts empty . . . keeps rolling on and on without a break.' The 'parts' are the links in the monastic invention known as the Causal Uprising, a borrowing of the cultural vogue in mental causation to explain the growth, not of wellbeing, but of misery. It is of interest that, whenever and by whomsoever Buddhism found its way to Tibet, the form it there took made the Wheel, so divided, its centre. Herein *Kim* is a true echo, and readers may have seen samples of these wheel-pictures, the whole picture held up by a great grinning devil. And the question arises whether those ruined temple-wheels referred to above were not wheels of this later pessimistic teaching rather than the original symbols of a great hope in life.

Yet even to the causal wheel of ill I have come across a medieval reference in a hopeful vein. This is in the work entitled *Divyāvadāna*: the 'divine legend', brought as palm-leaf MS. by Brian Hodgson from Nepal last century, and edited in roman letter by Cowell, to be, I trust, translated before long. In it the 'Buddha' is made to instruct Ānanda to set up such a wheel over the gate of the monastery at Rājgir (the mother settlement of Buddhism), and then show all comers what, as depicted, the psychic disciple Moggallāna had seen and heard as to life in the worlds. There

were to be five spokes of the five destinies: hells, animals, prétas (or intermittent purgatorials), men and devas (i.e. worthy men reborn elsewhere). In the middle a dove, a serpent and a pig were to symbolize lust, hate and bewilderment. Survival was to be pictured by water falling, as in a mill-wheel, on to the wheel. At bottom a monk explaining matters.

A dreary picture, wholly of a Less in life, with no outlook towards a More. And yet, *mirabile dictu*! we read elsewhere in the book this line:

Bhagavā, cakra-svastika-nandy-āvartā!

'The master, bringer of the luck and joy of the wheel!'

Truly eclecticism can be a wonderful danner, patching together in the later days things so far apart as this wheel of misery and the joy and good luck that lay in the way-faring wheel of the Indian saviour's teaching.

More light may come to us on the medieval symbolism of Wheel and Way than I have found it possible to give here. I am seeking to place a translation of the *Divyāvadāna*; that of another large medieval anthology is well advanced in the hands of my friend, J. J. Jones, of the National Library of Wales. Here I have but shown that these symbols also have their history.

(Mrs.) C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

I

A GERMAN observer of life in Great Britain stated the conviction that in no other country was the Bible so familiar to the people, and nowhere did the language of the Bible come so often into the common speech. The Bible may be less frequently intentionally quoted in argument or as illustration, but even speakers and writers who do not accept its distinctive authority are often found using its phrases.

The Authorised Version has been generally praised as a masterpiece in our language, and as having exercised an influence on subsequent literature. To secure greater accuracy of text and translation there have been offered modern versions; but valuable as they are for the student, their language has not become, nor is likely to become, 'current coin' as has been that of the Authorised Version. Accordingly, although it was not that version, but a precursor of it, the 'Great' Bible, which was the first English Bible placed in the parish churches by 'authorization' and 'injunction' of the King, the quatercentenary of that event, so momentous for the subsequent history, is being celebrated in 1938; and this is the occasion for the publication of this article, although the interest and the importance of the subject itself afford adequate reason for writing it.

In these celebrations attention will be mainly directed to the supreme moral and religious value of the contents of the Bible and to the potent influence that the English translation of it has had on the thought and the life of English-speaking peoples. That must be the primary consideration: and this article is in no way intended to lessen that dominant emphasis, but only to widen the range of interest in the occasion.

The tests which have been applied to the Bible have been intellectual, ethical and theological. Modern literary and historical criticism concerns itself with the authorship, the date, the occasion, the purpose, the literary form, the mode of composition of the several writings and with their reliability as records of facts, as authentic history. Such a study may lead us to apply another test, that of beauty. Can the Bible rank as literature? The question itself involves an assumption which needs justification, i.e. that all which is spoken, written or printed is not literature, but that there is a standard applicable which will distinguish some expressions of the mind as literature from all others. That distinction does not lie in the *content*, but in the *form*, the quality of its presentation, not in *what* is said, but *how* it is said.

There are subjects, of which we do not expect a literary treatment, although we are grateful if we get it. There are subjects which excite that expectation, and, if it is not met, provoke disappointment. Tables of figures, statistics as statement of facts, exposition of causes and laws, the news of each day, whatever the interest and the importance of all of them may be, do not as a rule afford material for literary treatment. But a historical record, a scientific treatise, a philosophical discussion may be so written as to be appreciated as literature; although such a result was not the primary intention, it may be prized as a by-product. A tale, a novel, a drama, a poem may aim at being literature and may miss the mark, and, if not denied the description of literature, nevertheless be censured as *bad* literature from the aesthetic point of view.

We may for our present purpose be content to define literature as an expression of thought (using the word in the widest sense to cover all mental phenomena) in which there is the intention, not only to present the content, but also to make the form of the presentation as *good as it can be made*, in itself attractive, interesting, appropriate and adequate to the subject, satisfying to the sense of beauty. In some

books that aim may be primary; in others secondary. Where it is primary, the danger is that the *content* may fall below the level of the *form*; the thing said may not be worth saying well, or even saying at all; truth and worth are allies of beauty. Where the intention is secondary, yet the result is achieved, we still have literature. We may, if we will, call the first kind *pure* literature; and where the intention is not carried out, *bad* literature (both words having no moral reference). May we not add this qualification? What is *worth* saying will usually get itself *well* said, and what is not worth saying will fail to be well said; for content and form have a close relation to one another. If the author is indifferent to what he writes, he is not likely to write well; if he is possessed by his theme, it will find its fit delivery.

II

The Bible is not in the sense defined *pure* literature; the *content* and not the *form* was the primary consideration, and yet many of the writers were not so possessed by their message, as to be indifferent to the mode of its delivery. To avoid misunderstanding, the claim for the Bible as literature cannot be made for the whole content. The genealogies, the legislation, and even much of the historical record have not in themselves the 'beauty which is a joy for ever,' although they fulfil their own proper function. The stories, which have traditions, and not annals behind them, such as those of Joseph, Samuel, Saul and David, and Ruth in the Old Testament, do possess the quality of literature; so do many of the stories in the Gospels and Acts. For our present purpose, the prophets, the psalms, the Wisdom writings, the teaching of Jesus, the letters of the apostles are our main interest. No one can deal with this subject in any detail, without acknowledging constant indebtedness to Professor Richard G. Moulton's books, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, and *The Modern Reader's Bible*.

The way in which the Authorised Version is printed in chapters and verses is a hindrance to an apprehension of its literary character; the Revised Version offers an improvement, but Moffatt's Translation is specially useful for the study of the subject; for in reproducing in separate lines, the characteristic Hebrew *parallelism*, which are found in the New as well as the Old Testament, it does aid us in distinguishing the poetry from the prose.

This distinction between poetry and prose must be examined before we can go any further. It is a common error to regard whatever is written in verses (rhyme, rhythm, metre) as poetry, and all that does not take any of these forms, as prose. But when we speak, as we do, of poetical prose, or describe a poem as prosaic, we show that the distinction lies deeper, in content and not in form only. What is written to record, to explain, to convey information or to instruct is *prose*, even if it be in verse; but its expression may in a master hand become poetical even if it shows no signs of being verse. Prose is the language of the understanding and the reason. The greatest poet has told us that the poet is 'of imagination all compact' (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Sc. 1), and therefore he 'gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name'.

Poetry is *creation*; it paints pictures in its imagery, it makes music in its sounds; imagination evokes and expresses emotion as intellect cannot do. A theological definition of God cannot move the heart as does the symbol, 'Our Father which art in heaven', for truth is best 'embodied in a tale'. A moral precept cannot command respect as does the description of Jesus, who 'wrought the creed of creeds in loveliness of perfect deeds'. Beauty and Truth do meet together and holiness and loveliness can kiss each other. The connexion of imagination and emotion, close companions, with verse, is no arbitrary device, for the utterance of both tends to be rhythmical. Verse is no meretricious ornament of poetry; but the poet soars higher as he gives his wings a regular

beat; the acceptance of discipline has its reward in excellence. Much of the Bible is literature, because it is poetry and not prose.

While the writings, as we have them, belong to an age centuries later than some of their contents, they have preserved some of the earliest forms of literature, myths, legends, ballads. The earliest form is the *ballad-dance*, which combines, not artificially, but spontaneously, imagination, emotion and movement, and that movement *rhythmic*. A confirmation of this connexion may be found in recent investigations of the common sources of magic and religion; in both, spontaneous gesture is the beginning of coercive and persuasive action. Belief, sentiment and ritual correspond to the three elements mentioned in the ballad-dance. Miriam and her company played the timbrel and danced (Exodus xv. 20), and David danced before the Lord (2 Sam. vi. 14).

It is probable that in the recitation of the Psalms in the Temple there still was movement to and fro. In our modern worship we keep words and tune, but not gesture or motion, save in a processional hymn. Even now as speech becomes impassioned, it becomes rhythmical, and gesture more necessary. These three elements in the ballad-dance, when separated, give rise to *epic*, *lyric* and *dramatic* poetry, although in none of these varying forms is there complete suppression of the other elements. The corresponding forms in prose are science and history, philosophy as reflection on the values of life, and oratory in which by speech something is to be effected, a conviction, a decision, an action.

III

Applying this scheme to the Bible, some illustrations may be given. The telling of some of the stories already mentioned is *epic*; the Psalms are a blending of all the elements; there is no *drama* in the strict sense in the Bible; the book of Job may be thought of as a drama of 'the inner life', the

stage a soul. The dramatic form cannot be forced on The Song of Songs, as has been attempted; it is a succession of lyrics or an idyll. The descriptions of some of the situations, such as the encounter of David and Nathan, and of Elijah and Ahab, the conversations of Jesus with suppliants, inquirers, disciples, have a dramatic intensity. History has a large place; philosophy in no academic sense, is found in the Wisdom Literature; and we might describe the book of Job as philosophy dramatized. Oratory is represented in the speeches recorded of the prophets—not only spontaneous eloquence, but eloquence disciplined by the recognized methods of oratory. The teaching of Jesus is poetical in content and form, as will be shown when we turn to deal with the form. He does not give definitions of truth and duty. He gives miniatures in pregnant sayings, or the extended pictures in His parables; human facts serve as symbols of divine reality.

The argument and the exhortations of Paul's letters may be described as written oratory, and when these letters were read, we can imagine their having the same effect as had the writer himself been speaking. Although not so exclusively, Paul also uses analogy, e.g., the Church as the body of Christ (1 Corinthians xii); and in the Fourth Gospel allegory takes the place of parable. May we describe the Apocalypse as *cosmic drama*, in which heaven, hell and earth supply the stage, and in which God is not only chief, but almost sole actor, as men are the subjects of His will? It is the *Divine Comedy* in the same sense as Dante's great poem, human tragedy ending in divine triumph. This summary may, it is hoped, whet the appetite of the reader for a more minute study of the literary forms of the Bible as well as its historical, moral and religious contents. And in such a study he will find the necessary guidance in Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible*, although one caution must be offered; the author ignores the conclusions of literary and historical criticism, and deals with the writings just as they are.

IV

We may now confine our attention to the *poetry* of the Bible, and illustrate its forms. It was a century after the Authorised Version appeared before the distinctive form of Hebrew poetry was discovered by Bishop Lowth. The translators before his time were quite ignorant of it, and, therefore, failed to get any guidance from it. He described this form as *parallelism*. Instead of similar sounds at the ends of lines of verse (rhyme) or in combination in various forms of long and short syllables (metre Latin and Greek) or of accented and unaccented syllables (English), there is a symmetry of clauses, in which there may be repetition, contrast, modification or addition in regard to the thought contained. Two, three, four, six or eight lines may constitute such a parallelism. A few instances will make this clear.

- (i) Couplet—The Lord of hosts is with us,
The God of Jacob is our refuge.
(Psalm xli. 7, 11.)
- (ii) Triplet—He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth.
He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder,
He burneth the chariot in the fire.
(Verse 9.)
- (iii) Quatrain—I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountains
From whence shall my help come?
My help cometh from the Lord,
Which made heaven and earth.
(Psalm cxxi. 1, 2. This psalm consists of four such quatrains.)

Owing to the difference of the two languages the length of the lines does not vary so much in the Hebrew original as in the English translation. It is difficult, although some scholars do make the attempt, to reproduce in the translation the rhythm of sound which accompanies the symmetry of sense: but it does exist in the Hebrew, for as has already been said, rhythm seems to be normal for poetic imagination and sentiment. How closely the rhythm approaches a metrical system is, however, too difficult and contentious a subject for treatment here.

While there is an endless variety possible in the relation of the clauses to one another, corresponding to the multitude of ways in which thoughts can be associated, yet Bishop Lowth has rendered some service in distinguishing three kinds of parallelism, *synonymous*, *antithetic* and *synthetic*. The first simply repeats the thought with slight variation of terms; illustration (i) the couplet, is of this kind. An antithetic parallelism is Psalm i. 6.

- (iv) The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous:
But the way of the wicked shall perish.

The second half of the illustration above (iii) adds something to the thought; it is a synthetic parallelism. This principle of parallelism may be extended beyond the successive lines, and groups of lines of similar structure may be spoken or sung by different persons. Hebrew as well as Greek poetry knows the *strophe*, and the *anti-strophe*. (Psalm xxx. 6-8.)

- (v) Strophe—As for me, I said in my prosperity,
I shall never be moved.
Thou, Lord, of Thy favour hadst made my mountain
to stand strong:
Anti-strophe—Thou didst hide Thy face; I was troubled.
I cried to Thee, O Lord;
And unto the Lord I made supplication.

Parallelism is so elastic a form that it lends itself to a great variety of structures.

The song of Moses and Miriam (Exodus xv. 1-18, 21) and of Deborah and Barak (Judges v) may be described as *odes*, marked by greater elaboration of structure; the *Lamentations* offer examples of the *dirge* or the *elegy*; so, also, David's lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel i. 19-27).

The Psalms may be classified as natural, historical, liturgical, personal, striking many notes on the harp of experience. The transitions in many of the psalms are emotional rather than intellectual, expressing changes of feeling rather than advancement of thought. Robert Browning's poetry often presents the same difficulty and interest. A story may be

told in a Psalm, as in Psalm lxxxiv. The pilgrim gets his first glimpse of the temple (v. 1); he is eager to get there (v. 2); arrived, he feels as much at home as a bird in her nest among her young (v. 3); he greets the priest (v. 4) who returns his greeting, praising the pilgrim's devotion; he offers his prayers (vv. 7-8); as he goes, he expresses his envy of the doorkeeper's lot as contrasted with his among the heathen (v. 10); but he is reassured by remembering that God's blessing is on the believer as on the priest and the pilgrim (vv. 11-12). We may recover a conversation in Hosea xiv. The prophet summons to repentance (vv. 1-2); Ephraim expresses penitence and faith (v. 3); God gives assurance of His blessing (vv. 5-7); Ephraim renounces his idols; God accepts the return; Ephraim becomes boastful: 'I am like a green fir-tree'; God utters a warning: 'From me is thy fruit found' (v. 8). The unintelligent division between chapters lii. 15, and liii. 1, in Isaiah cuts off the first of five stanzas in a carefully constructed poem, which expresses the deepest truth common to Hebrew and to Christian poetry—the saving sacrifice of vicarious love. The structure may be outlined as follows:

- I The Success of the Suffering Servant (lii. 13-15),
- II The Confession of the People's Misunderstanding (liii. 1-3),
- III The Vicarious Redemptive Character (vv. 4-6),
- IV The Humility and the Innocence of the Sufferer (vv. 7-9),
- V The Divine Purpose of Salvation in his Suffering (vv. 10-12).

Sir George Adam Smith's rendering in his *Isaiah*, vol. II, should be read, as it seeks to reproduce the rhythm as far as possible. Many other evidences might be given of the literary character of the Old Testament, the attention of the writers to the form as well as the content; and we in recognizing this alliance enjoy much of the Bible as art as well as benefit from it as moral and religious truth.

Passing to the New Testament we may say that Jesus spoke literature; however occasional and spontaneous His teaching, its form shared the excellence of its content. As

we read the Synoptic Gospels as printed in Moffatt's Translation we become aware of His frequent use of the Hebrew parallelism. Take only one instance of symmetrical structure, Matthew xii. 39-42. An antithetic couplet (v. 39) is followed by a synthetic (v. 40), and two antithetic triplets (vv. 41-42), and then a parallelism in the last line of each of these triplets. 'Here is one greater than Jonah'—'Here is one greater than Solomon.' This is literary art.

How much of His language is figurative, metaphor, simile, analogy, parable? While we must beware of allegorizing the parables, as each illustrates in a tale one truth, one lesson for the occasion; yet in the longer parables the details are worked out beyond the immediate necessity, so that a complete picture may attract the hearer's attention. The processes of Nature and the ways and works of man pass before His observant eye and touch His sensitive heart and responsive mind, and thus the things seen symbolize the things unseen. One almost shrinks from describing Him as a poet, for He is incomparably so much more; but this too may be gratefully accepted as one of the many gifts He has bestowed.

There is less devotional literature in the New Testament than in the Old, less of the response of man than of the revelation of God. But the early Church had its hymns and some traces are found in the Epistles. Here is one of them, a description of Christ.

Manifest in the flesh,
vindicated by the Spirit,
seen by angels,
preached among the nations,
believed on throughout the world,
taken up to glory.

(1 Timothy iii. 16, Moffatt)

There is probably a fragment of a hymn in Ephesians v. 14, as the original words have a rhythmical character.

Wake up, O sleeper, and rise from the dead;
So Christ shall shine upon thee.

Another instance recently come to my notice is an article by Jean Hering in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse* (1936, pp. 195-209) on *Kyrios Anthropos*. An Aramaic scholar, Lohmeyer, claims that the great Christological passage in Philippians ii. 6-11, is a translation of an Aramaic hymn, as it abounds in Aramaisms, on the Man from Heaven, a current Jewish conception which Paul makes his own in the contrast between the first man and the second man (1 Corinthians xv. 47). For this interpretation two changes are necessary: *μορφή* must be rendered not *form* as in A.V. and R.V. but *image*, which is claimed to be the legitimate rendering of either of two Aramaic words which may have been used in the original, and thus offers a parallel to what is said of the first man in Genesis i. 26; and we must assume that Paul in rendering the hymn, added the last clause in Phil. ii. 8—'even the death of the Cross'. The Hymn would run thus:

- I Being in the image of God
he did not snatch as a prize
equality with God.
- II But emptied himself
taking the image of a servant,
being born in the likeness of man.
- III And being found in fashion like a man,
he humbled himself
becoming obedient even unto death.
- IV Wherefore also God highly exalted him,
and gave him in grace the name
which is above every name,
- V That in the name of Jesus
every knee should bend
in heaven, on earth or under the earth
- VI *And every tongue confess*
that Jesus Christ is Lord
to the glory of God the Father.

Theologians would lose one of their disputable proofs of the divine nature in Christ; but we should recover one of the earliest hymns.

Even the unlearned in these matters speak of 1 Corinthians xiii as the hymn of love. Moffatt prints verses 1 to 4 and

again verse 12 as examples of the Hebrew parallelism; but even these parts which are printed continuously might be regarded as 'free verse'. It is a careful literary masterpiece over which we may imagine the apostle lingering long. Paul sometimes writes at white heat, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, and sometimes we can trace a plan, as in the Epistle to the Romans. His letters, however, remain personal communications for an immediate purpose, and are not essays thrown by literary device into the form of letters. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of St. James are by some scholars regarded as homilies or sermons which have been given the form of letters.

I hope the argument has convinced the reader that the study of the Bible as literature increases its interest without detracting, if not even enhancing, its value as the record of divine revelation. In closing, some indication may be offered of the significance of such a study for interpretation. Some mistakes due to ignorance of Hebrew parallelism may be given. St. Matthew, who is always on the outlook for correspondences between prediction and event, misunderstands the parallelism in the prophecy of Zechariah, 'He is gentle and mounted on an ass, and on a colt the foal of a beast of burden' (Matthew xxi. 5, Moffatt), and represents Jesus as seating Himself on them (v. 7). Mark speaks only of one colt (xi. 2).

An evangelist deduced the doctrine of 'two natures in one person' from Isaiah ix. 6 thus: 'Unto us a child is born' (the humanity), 'Unto us a son is given' (the divinity), 'His name shall be called Wonderful' (the mystery of unity of person). A preacher quoted Isaiah liii. 9, 'And they made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death' as fulfilled in the burial of Jesus in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, a rich and a good man. Moffatt does justice to what the parallelism means:

They laid him in a felon's grave
And buried him with criminals,

for the rich were then often the unscrupulous oppressors of the poor. How often is a false impression made by quoting only half of the parallelism in Proverbs xiii. 12,

Hope deferred maketh the heart sick:

But when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life.

How has the understanding of Our Lord's parables been hindered by a prosaic allegorizing of the details!

As regards the eschatological teaching, it must be remembered that the language He uses is traditional language, that the prophets were poets, using many figures of speech, that prediction of the future must necessarily be symbolic, the content of the unknown foreshadowed in the terms of the known. We must bring His whole teaching to bear on our understanding of this part. Probably more learning and writing have been wasted on the interpretation of Daniel and Revelation than any other writings, because it has not been recognized that Apocalyptic is a type of literature quite distinct from prophecy, that it has its traditional properties, some to be traced back to mythology, that it has its conventional symbolisms, and that consequently its interpretation requires a range of knowledge and a balance of judgement of which most of those who dabble in its exposition are conspicuous for their lack.

In the measure in which we reverence the Bible as containing and conveying the Word of God, shall we seek to study it with a definite knowledge and disciplined judgement and to such qualification belongs the apprehension and the appreciation of it as literature.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

RECENT events at home and abroad make it especially desirable that English people should understand and appreciate the British Constitution. The Great War and its aftermath have severely tested the stability of the Cabinet system. Within a single year three kings have sat upon the English throne. The death of George V, the abdication of Edward VIII, the accession of George VI, created an unprecedented situation and imposed a critical strain upon our political order. The Statute of Westminster (1931) put the relations of the Mother Country to the Colonial Dominions on a new basis, and increased the prestige and responsibilities of the Crown. On the Continent of Europe a succession of revolutionary changes has challenged, or at least thrown into high relief, our traditional parliamentary institutions. The world crisis has thrown up forms of government which orthodox British politicians had come to regard as 'portions and parcels of the dreadful past'. In this Coronation year nothing will better serve the interests of national unity, or discourage men in a hurry from running after strange doctrines, than a calm and comprehensive examination of our own political spirit and achievement. It is easy enough to make fun of Mr. Podsnap's patriotic self-satisfaction—'We Englishmen are Very Proud of Our Constitution. It was Bestowed upon Us by Providence. No other country is So Favoured as This Country'. Such boastfulness is out of fashion, but self-depreciation would be more absurd than self-praise. For it is no exaggeration to say that the British Commonwealth of Nations is the greatest constitutional experiment that has been attempted in the modern world, as it is the most characteristic contribution that the British race has made to political progress.

It is peculiar in both senses of the word; it is odd, and it is our own. No form of free government will endure which is

not rooted in the habits and temperament of a nation, for while constitutions can be borrowed, temperaments cannot. Our constitution would not suit everybody. There are peoples we can think of who would be as embarrassed by it as David was by Saul's armour. Perhaps no one else could work it. It suits the British people because it is the expression of our national character. It is a vital thing, not a manufactured article, or a sudden improvisation. We have carried more of the living past into the present than any other European state. As a wise man has put it—'*England can't begin again*'.

The strong hand of Norman and Angevin kings welded the country into a nation. On that foundation was built the solid structure of a national parliament and a common law. Unification achieved, the Crown came into conflict with Parliament. Out of that struggle the present order of King, Lords, Commons and Cabinet emerged. Feudal lords and canon lawyers, Cavalier and Roundhead, Jacobite and Whig, Conservative and Liberal, Church and Chapel, Property, Business and Labour have all helped to mould and modify this enduring flexible thing. The continuity which Burke regarded as essential has not been really broken. Since 1688, perhaps the most important date in our history, we have suffered neither from tyranny nor anarchy. Through foreign wars and internal conflicts this constitutional tradition has persisted. It has weathered the severest storms and is the main bastion of peace and stability amid the tumults of the present day.

Talleyrand observed to Mme. de Rémusat, 'Get this into your head. If the English constitution is destroyed, the civilization of the world will be shaken to its foundations'. It is as true now as then. In his recent fascinating book, *A Hundred Years of English Government*, Mr. K. B. Smellie sums up, 'If the democratic experiment of the British Commonwealth were to fail, the despotic system of government will generally prevail. Who can suppose that the Scandinavian democracies, or the democracy of France or the United States

would survive the confusions which will follow the struggle for China, India and Africa when the British political order had collapsed?

De Tocqueville, in a moment of exasperation with our illogicality, coined the aphorism, 'There is no constitution in England. Elle n'existe point'. The despair of systematic constitution builders, it is, let us admit, incapable of compact definition. Like all living things it is a blend of elements that seem on paper to be incompatible. Even the constitutions of the Dominions, though modelled on our own, differ fundamentally from it in one respect: they are recent creations by Parliamentary enactment; ours is a baffling blend of religion, law, history, ethics and custom, the gradual deposit of centuries. We have been chary of definition except when absolutely necessary.

The constitution is full of anomalies. For example, the Royal assent is still given to a bill by the words, 'Le Roy le veult', and to the budget by the words, 'Le Roy remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult', because when Parliament began, it was in French that the King naturally spoke. Again, no statute, no rule of common law, no resolution of either House of Parliament, *until the present year*, formally recognized the Cabinet. Yet the Cabinet is the keystone of the whole system.

In 1902 Lord Balfour could write, 'The Prime Minister has no salary as Prime Minister. He has no statutory duties as Prime Minister. His name occurs in no acts of parliament. Though holding the most important place in the Constitutional hierarchy he has no place which is recognized by the laws of his country. This is a strange paradox'. The very title, Prime Minister, takes us back to Sir Robert Walpole to whom it was applied with derisive innuendo; it had in those days more the sense of Grand Vizier or despot's tool.

It is therefore interesting to watch constitutional history being made before our eyes, for in the Ministers of the Crown Bill, 1937 (the bill for increasing ministerial salaries) the

Cabinet, though it has existed more or less in its present form for two hundred years, is mentioned in a piece of statutory legislation for the first time. Similarly, the head of the government is there described as 'Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury'. In only one other Act of Parliament up to this time (the Chequers Estate Act, 1917) had this post of Prime Minister been mentioned by name. A fortnight before the Ministers of the Crown Bill was published, the head of the Government had been referred to in the Physical Training Bill as the Prime Minister *tout court*. A further point; in this same Ministers of the Crown Bill, the Leader of the Opposition, was accorded a regular constitutional status. 'His Majesty's Opposition' was also given for the first time statutory recognition. Yet the phrase 'His Majesty's Opposition' embodies a principle of crucial importance. Continuity in change is our rule.

Men love ritual, and modern life starves their appetite for it. English folk in particular would be sorry to see old customs and costumes vanish. They are delighted with the tabards and trumpets of the Heralds, the halberds of the Beefeaters, the wigs and medieval robes of the Judges, the splendour of the Coronation ceremonies. Such pageantry is not only relished for itself; it is esteemed as a visible link with the historic past.

Quieta non movere; in other words, avoid needless innovation. We live largely under a system of *tacit understandings*, and are at once the freest and the most orderly of modern peoples. It cannot, for example, be said with strict accuracy that English law recognizes the liberty of the Press. Nor has there been any formal recognition of the right of public meeting. If legal precedents had been strictly applied, the writings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Mill, Darwin, Newman, and many another, might have rendered them liable to fine or imprisonment.

The Marylebone Cricket Club is keeping this year its 150th Anniversary. The M.C.C. is unquestionably the supreme

authority in English cricket. The very letters carry with them an almost sacrosanct prestige. Yet it has never been legally appointed or officially accepted as such. The Englishman expresses his deepest moral convictions in terms of this game—'to play cricket'. It is perhaps no accident that the principles that govern the national game and the nation itself should resemble one another, and that the M.C.C. should be a sort of analogue to the British Constitution. Our instinct for self-government expresses itself in unwritten laws. These *tacit understandings*, sifted by experience and consecrated by time, play an enormous part in our national life.

The basic fact in the Constitution is the supremacy of Parliament. No other country possesses or has ever possessed a legislature with so long and vivid a history, or one which has exerted so profound an influence on the fortunes of mankind. It is justly called 'the Mother of Parliaments'. The mainspring of the parliamentary system is the Cabinet. Yet it would be hard to say how the Cabinet was first instituted. It was never a party watchword. It was never clamoured for by popular opinion. No man can tell us exactly when it became effective.

Again, from 1678 the House of Commons has clung to the principle that all bills granting supplies ought to begin with the Commons. The House of Lords has never expressly admitted the claim of the Commons, but it has not, in fact, denied it, and therefore is taken in practice as having conceded it. The claim of the Commons has thus become a right, and is recognized as such in every King's speech.

'Be careful what you put in writing' is advice tendered by worldly-wise seniors to impulsive and romantic youth. The British Constitution bears many traces of a similar reticence. For example, may the Sovereign attend Cabinet meetings or any other committee of the Privy Council? It is certain that the Sovereign does not do so. But there is nothing in the formal constitution to prevent him. William III and Anne

habitually presided at such meetings. The custom fell into abeyance because George I could not understand English. So it is that to the accident that the Throne was filled by a German prince at a critical period in history we owe the peculiar constitution of the supreme executive. Further, there is no statutory or legal usage which requires that Ministers of the Crown shall hold seats in one or other of the Houses of Parliament. It is taken for granted.

It would surprise many people if they knew all the things that the Sovereign could do without consulting Parliament. Bagehot gives an astounding list of the Crown's unrescinded prerogatives. But the Crown does not make use of them. The power of the Crown to force a Dissolution of Parliament undoubtedly exists. But such a Dissolution involves not only the dismissal of the ministry, but the necessity of finding another that will assume responsibility for the dismissal and take office.

Suppose a Sovereign believes the situation to be so grave that he cannot accept the advice of his ministers. After exhausting his powers of warning and persuasion, he has no choice but to force a dissolution or to abdicate. Either of these courses will mean flinging the Crown into the political arena.

In 1914 with civil war threatening in Ireland, King George V was repeatedly urged to exercise his power of dissolution. He paid no heed. Suppose a government on the strength of a single victory at the polls attempted the complete overthrow of the economic system, what would the Sovereign do? Would he use his right of dismissal? No one knows—for Englishmen are loath to face situations until they must. As to the circumstances in which such emergency powers might be used—the matter is left undefined. We fall back not on rigid statutes but on the political sagacity of the whole nation—King, Cabinet, Lords and Commons. If the national character and common sense should not be equal to the crisis, no ancient law could be adequate.

Our Parliamentary system is based upon Party. Here again, our political parties have no corporate existence or legal status, yet they represent the strongest and most lasting element in political life from the days of Clarendon and Shaftesbury to the days of Lloyd George and Baldwin. From Halifax who wrote, 'Ignorance maketh men go into a party and shame keepeth them from getting out of it', to Chesterton and Belloc, men have heaped abuse on party, but none of the critics have ever offered a practical alternative that is consistent with democracy. Party divisions, whether for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government. The only known alternative is some form of tyranny.

Our great parties have each shifted their ground during the centuries—the Conservatives of to-day are more 'progressive' than the Liberals of a hundred years ago. (Sir William Harcourt declared 'we are all Socialists nowadays'.) Still, the parties represent real differences of principle, temperament and interest, abiding from generation to generation. There is the party of the brake and the accelerator; the party of caution and of hope; the party of tradition and experiment.

What are the pre-suppositions of our party system? It assumes first of all that at a pinch the country comes before party. (The classic precedent is the action of Peel in respect of the Corn Laws.) It assumes that the nation is a unity and desires to remain a unity, but also that it has an open mind as to how that unity is to be secured. One of our most characteristic words is 'experimental'. Party government is the constitutional expression of the experimental method—the method of trial and error—in politics. It assumes that matters of political interest can be settled by reasonable discussion. Political democracy is unworkable unless its members have reached a stage of development in which they are prepared to be persuaded. In one great word, which has been adopted from English into almost all the languages

of the world—the word *Committee*—we find the embodiment of the English spirit which would rather sit round a table than mount barricades, and pins its faith to the persuasive tongue rather than to the strong hand.

The Party System also pre-supposes an innate respect for law and order even when administered by political rivals. No one pretends that the Party System is perfect or anything like it. 'Perfection' in an instrument designed for mortal use would be a disadvantage. A 'perfect' system would suit neither the world nor human nature. The Party System, with its concomitant, majority rule, is a rough and ready method. We have come to the conclusion, after some searching trials, that it is better on the whole to count heads than to break them. We have also recognized that these heads, having been enfranchised, must be educated.

The Party System is human. It gives room for the fighting-spirit as well as for the instinct of loyalty. The idea of a state where all the ablest men join, without regard to political opinions or economic interest, and devote the best of their talents to public service, is attractive, but it has never yet been realized. Men have warm blood in their veins as well as grey cells in their heads. A system that avoided excitement and conflict would relax effort, discourage ambition and sap the springs of human nature. Man is a fighting animal as well as a rational debater. Party feeling is an expression of primitive combativeness as much as a consequence of intellectual or even material differences between men. It also satisfies the dramatic sense. Mr. Smellie complains that in the nineteenth century, 'the drama of politics attracted much of the ability that should have gone to the drudgery of administration'. The Henry Irving tradition had its political counterpart in the Prime Minister actor-manager!

But this surely had its good side. An active interest in national matters on the part, not merely of a few politicians but of the great mass of voters, is the very breath of democratic government. Politics are intense and vital when the two

armies sweep forward to the fray under brilliant protagonists like Gladstone and Disraeli.

The Party System has been condemned on the ground of its unreality and insincerity. This was the gravamen of the Chesterton-Belloc onslaught. It is strange that so genuine an Englishman as Chesterton failed to realize that the Party System had its essential conventions. Party war *à outrance* would be as false as fatal to the genius of our system. Logicians and devotees of extreme conclusions would be happier in the unitary systems on the Continent—provided they were lucky enough to find themselves in the state where their views were in the ascendant. Westminster is the Temple of Compromise, because compromise (another national watch-word) is the very essence of Democracy. Our parties have been compared to two cricket teams in keen but not bitter rivalry, standing up to one another's bowling on the political green. Such similes are valuable, for they help us to remember that the Party System needs to be worked in a sportsmanlike spirit. No doubt the majority must rule. It is equally true that the acid test of liberty is the treatment accorded to minorities. Democracy comes near to dictatorship when the will of a temporary majority is imposed in the spirit of ruthlessness on the minority. Restraint and consideration in exploiting a victory are vital to a form of government which in the last resort rests upon a general and peaceful acquiescence by the whole country in the policy adopted by the Government of the day. In other words, a generous respect for the feelings and convictions of the minority is as essential to national stability, as the submission of the minority to the will of the majority.

Compromise is odious to passionate natures because it seems a surrender, and to logical natures because it seems a confusion. But Englishmen know that wisdom is deeper than reason; that the 'rational' may prove unreasonable, and that a straight line is by no means always the shortest distance between two points—except in geometry!

The Party System is inaccurate and confused because political actualities are inaccurate and confused. Take a typical constituency of 60,000 electors. Of these probably not more than 40,000 will vote. The successful candidate may poll 21,000 votes, the unsuccessful 19,000. That is to say the elected M.P. has secured the support of just over one-third of the total constituency.

A government may have a majority of a hundred members in the House, and yet may represent only a slight preponderance of the votes cast in the country. It is possible, for it happened in 1931, for a major Party to be well-nigh swept out of existence by a comparatively small number of votes. It is obvious that to use a temporary victory for purely sectional interests and party ends would be a grave violation of the spirit of the Constitution.

The phrase 'His Majesty's Opposition', is perhaps the supreme triumph of our political instinct. It means that England has made criticism of the Government as much a part of the national polity as administration itself. That is, the Opposition is not unpatriotic, not a necessary evil or tolerated pest, but is essential to the working of our Parliamentary system. And so, on the solemn occasion of Armistice Day, when Cabinet Ministers stand by the Cenotaph, the Leader of His Majesty's Opposition has his place next to the Prime Minister. This symbolical recognition of his Constitutional position is invaluable. It is equally a witness to our Party System and to our National unity. Party co-operation is as real an element in public life as Party rivalry. Here again we observe the operation of the unwritten laws of the land. The Party System can only function healthily when the Government receives steady support from its own men and steady criticism from its opponents. The criticism of the opposition must be vigorous, but not irresponsible. For those who turn out a government ought to be prepared to unite and form a stronger government than the one which they have overthrown. Let it once be suspected that you

are afraid to take over the government and your party is discredited.

Lord Derby once said that his ideal was a Conservative Government with a strong Liberal Opposition. Experienced statesmen know that the Party System works best when the opposition is formidable, and able to keep the government in wholesome awe. It is generally agreed that such a catastrophe as practically destroyed the Labour Party in the House in 1931 is undesirable. A government prefers a strong opposition. A feeble opposition soon leads to rifts in the government party. The Party System cannot be worked by doctrinaires, or (as Lord Palmerston called them) 'damned professors'. Doctrinaires are liable to be fanatics, and, except as a *sauce piquante*, fanatics are in the way at Westminster. Moderation, what the Greeks termed μεσότης, is the essential virtue. After the tug of war of debate, there comes 'the committee stage', when men must be willing to 'split the difference' and able to suggest a middle course.

Here is Trollope's humorous picture of the Party System at work:

'The Queen had sent for Mr. Mildmay in compliance with advice given to her by Lord de Terrier. And yet Lord de Terrier and his first lieutenant had used all the most practised efforts of their eloquence for the last three days in endeavouring to make their countrymen believe that no more unfitting minister than Mr. Mildmay ever attempted to hold the reins of office. Nothing had been too bad for them to say of Mr. Mildmay, and yet in the very first moment in which they found themselves unable to carry on the government themselves, they advised the Queen to send for that most incompetent and baneful statesman. We who are conversant with our own methods of politics see nothing odd in this, because we are used to it; but surely in the eyes of strangers our practice must be very singular.'

Quite so. The Party System has its conventions which must be observed. We have been recently treated to the spectacle of a Cabinet proposing a handsome salary for the man (the Leader of the Opposition) whose chief task is to attack its own proposals!

Lord Balfour once gave a penetrating analysis of the qualities that would undermine our British institutions:

'If our politicians have no capacity for grading their loyalties as well as for being moved by them; if they have no natural inclination to liberty and no natural respect for law; if they lack good humour and tolerate foul play; if they know not how to compromise or when; if they have not a distrust of extreme conclusions which is sometimes misdescribed as want of logic; if corruption does not repel them; if their divisions tend to be either too numerous or too profound, the successful working of the party system may be difficult or impossible.'

A party must resist the temptation to suppose that while their opponents are a mere party, they themselves are the representatives of the nation. Nor can it be healthy for the country when there seems to be no tolerable alternative government in sight. A certain creeping paralysis overtakes politics when it is taken for granted that one party will always be 'in'. Yet the alternative party must be *practicable*. This means that both parties must have a great deal in common. The Party System cannot function if the two parties differ in fundamentals. If ever Great Britain were divided into two irreconcilable factions of Fascists and Communists, the present political system would collapse. *Parties must differ in emphasis but not in essence*. The most serious menace to our Parliamentary order does not come from foreign 'ideologies', but from the fanatical champions of the Class War at home.

To quote Lord Balfour once more:

'Our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can afford to bicker, and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of party conflict.'

A government must succeed to office without creating too great a sense of shock, let alone of outrage.

The men responsible for the maintenance of party discipline are called Whips. The reference is, of course, to the 'whippers-in' of the fox-hunt. This national impromptu is deeply significant. The Party System will not work in the absence

of the sporting spirit. Sportsmanship is a sort of laicized Christianity. It is certainly the active religion of the bulk of the nation, and by it we are saved politically.

Just as the Roman mind instinctively flew to agriculture or war for its metaphors, the English mind flies to sport. It is worth while to record sporting phrases that constantly occur in political speeches both in the House and out of it—on or off the scent, to bowl over, clean bowled, crestfallen, the last lap, to turn tail, in at the death, to back the wrong horse, to ride for a fall, neck and neck, stymied, throw up the sponge, to come up smiling, to hit below the belt, to keep one's end up, to stop the rot, stumped, runner-up, staying the course. So long as political conviction and party zeal can be sublimated into such sporting phrases and emotions, the English system will work, but no longer.

One of the excellent features of our public life is the way in which personal friendships subsist between political opponents. When Mr. Baldwin took his farewell of the House of Commons there were many moist eyes, and by no means all of them were on the government benches. He has been the pattern of a chivalrous opponent. An American Rhodes Scholar being asked what struck him most in English university life, replied, 'What strikes me most is that here are three thousand young men, every one of whom would rather lose a game than play it unfairly'. This inviolable tradition of *fair-play* is our greatest national asset. A trenchant critic of some features of English life, Mr. Sidney Whiteman, nevertheless admits that the word 'fair-play' has no synonym in any other language. May the thing itself continue to flourish and provide an antiseptic to the intolerance of ferocious partisans!

To ensure national continuity and to prevent reckless or arbitrary proceedings on the part of governments, there are arrayed formidable defences—the liberty of the Press, free speech, the independence of the Judges, the permanent Civil Services, the House of Lords and finally the Sovereign.

Not much need be said as to the public value of our eagle-eyed Press, whose restraint and sense of responsibility were recently exhibited in the tragic circumstances of Edward VIIIth's abdication. We owe a considerable debt to our political journalists who from time to time direct a salutary flow of criticism even upon their own orthodox party-men. Such sturdy independence is an essential astringent in a free country. There is not much liberty of the Press on the Continent. This is a sure sign of political invalidism. A censored Press is a proof of weakness, not of strength.

Lord Morley declared the independence of the Justiciary to be 'the lynch-pin' of a free State. Like the Sovereign, our Judges are above party. They are not appointed by governments nor are they removable by them. In some countries, judgeships are part of the spoils of party victory. We believe that such a system makes neither for impartiality nor dignity. Our laws are rules that will be enforced by the Courts. Parliament makes the laws, but the law-makers themselves are subject to the judicial processes of ordinary tribunals.

The establishment of a skilled non-party Civil Service was one of the main achievements of the last century. It was a reform not less momentous than the passing of the great Reform Bill of 1832. Formerly the civil services were a close corporation; now they are thrown open to merit. A sharp and salutary distinction is kept between political and non-political officials. This great national service is non-party; its members take no active part in politics, though they have votes. As a complement to the Party System, the permanent civil services are invaluable. They are able to check and guide ministers, and prevent the temporary oscillations of politics from plunging the workaday life of the nation into confusion. Immune from party struggles, they bring their experience and specialized technical knowledge to bear upon the problems of the hour, and thus benefit not this party or that, but the nation at large.

Finally, comes the Sovereign, the apex of the social structure and the symbol of national and imperial unity and continuity. Anti-monarchical critics sometimes dismiss the Sovereign as a mere figure-head, 'the rubber-stamp of the Government'. It is a ridiculously superficial judgement. He does not govern; in these days no one man could govern. Nevertheless he has a vital place in the political system. Bagehot divided the constitution into two elements—'the efficient' and 'the dignified'. But Victoria, Edward VII and George V were much more than ornamental figures. Standing above the parliamentary *mêlée*, the Sovereign has three rights—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn.

It is hinted from time to time that the influence and prestige of the British monarchy have steadily declined during the last century. Nothing could be further from the truth. When Victoria came to the throne a considerable part of England was flagrantly anti-monarchical. The insanity of George III, the profligacy of George IV, had made a painful impression upon the nation. William IV was a dull personality and had quarrelled with the Tories. Queen Victoria on her wedding proceeded from Buckingham Palace to St. James's without any cheering. Upon leaving the Palace for Windsor she and her young husband were respectfully, but by no means enthusiastically, received. The fact is that the monarchy had become the object of toleration and something like indifference. Contrast this state of things with the affection evinced towards George V at his Silver Jubilee. As the political education of the people proceeds, the office and person of the Sovereign are likely to win increasing appreciation. He is not the leader of a Party, not the representative of a class, but the chief of the nation, the focus of personal loyalty. Under the statute of Westminster the King's importance and responsibility have been enhanced. The British Commonwealth has become a League of Nations without Sanctions; no member can coerce another. The

Imperial Parliament has lost every shred of coercive authority over them. They can if they choose (and some do), conduct their own foreign affairs. The British Sovereign is the efficient personal link that binds together these scattered imperial members. It is more than doubtful that the other free nations would accept a President elected by the British people.

Mr. Spender has warned us that:

'any strain in our own politics which weakened the monarchy or diminished its prestige would have reactions throughout the whole Empire. Those who talked lightly of "dealing with Buckingham Palace" would have an account to settle not only with the British people, but with all the Dominions.'

What of the future? Will the adaptability of the Constitution and the character of the people suffice to meet the challenge of ever-changing circumstances? Can the tradition of continuity in change be maintained? Can we preserve this island of sanity and good humour from the infection of alien and subversive political cults, which, as Mr. Baldwin has said, can no more be assimilated by our British system 'than a Siberian apple can be grafted on to an English oak'. Can the Constitution survive the transformation of a predominantly rural and aristocratic, into a predominantly urban and industrial civilization? At the beginning of the nineteenth century the great majority of the population lived in the country. By the middle of the century half the population lived in towns. To-day more than four-fifths of the population live in towns. This amounts to a social and economic revolution. Similar changes, if not so marked, have taken place in other countries. But where have these vast changes been managed with so little violence and loss as in Great Britain? The Reform of Parliament in 1832, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, would probably have resulted in civil war in many countries in Europe. Yet our power of adaptation, which is another name for political common sense, was equal to the strain. The old governing class fought a vigorous rearguard action in defence of its privileges, but

it knew when resistance to change imperilled Parliamentary government. Like Bismarck, it knew how far to go, and when to stop. Our recently enfranchised classes have had a long object-lesson in orderly change. That they have profited by this political apprenticeship can be seen in the vigorous moderation of the Trade Unions. Only once have these great bodies been seduced by the temptation of the short-cut. The General Strike in 1926 registered a momentary departure from British temper and method. It served one useful purpose, however; 'Direct action' was defeated and discredited. The crisis cleared the air. We shall not tread such perilous paths again.

From this tour into the past we may learn both wisdom and encouragement for the future. A people that showed such signal powers of self-amendment in 1832, 1867, 1909, 1931 has no good reason to fear failure now. The central problem of government does not change; it is to secure as much individual freedom as is consistent with the welfare of an organized society. It is clear that in the shaping of the future, the scientist, the social technician, the psychologist, will play an increasing part. A simpler England could be largely governed by amateurs. The complicated modern State calls for the services of the expert. Stubbornly guarding our national individualism (for the expert is a threat to freedom), we are nevertheless responding to the main groundswell of the age, and moving steadily in the direction of 'the planned State'.

Will the generosity, the good humour, the self-mastery of the British character be equal to the demands of the age? Here again, example is better than speculation. At the crisis of the Great War in 1917 when the submarine menace was at its height, and when London was being harried by air-raids, there was a trial in the City. A German resident in this country, a commercial man who had been only recently naturalized, was accused of serious misdemeanours by a prominent English member of parliament. Mr. Justice

Coleridge admonished the jury that they should remember that a desperate war was being waged, and that fear and hatred distorted men's judgement. He reminded them of the Statue of Justice over the Old Bailey—blindfold, with level scales, and drawn sword to strike down the wrong-doer. He asked the jury not to forget that statue. The jury found for the German. The English M.P. lost his case and was mulcted in heavy damages. Is it a vain boast to assert that no other people in the world could have maintained such impartiality at such a time?

Nor was this an isolated instance. While Englishmen are of this calibre, we need not be afraid that our Constitution will break down. Henry James tells us that it was a proud day when (after his naturalization during the Great War) he was able to write, *Civis Britannicus Sum*. It would be strange if British-born men should ever think less of their birthright.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

WHEN I left England for the Transvaal just fifty years ago, Dr. Kilner gave me *Keane's Africa* with the one condition, that I read it. In those days it seemed a long way from Cape Town to the North, but recently a friend visiting me from Johannesburg had, with his wife, just done the journey from Kenya to the South Coast, and assured me that the road was now open for the ordinary traveller like himself.

With many Boer farmers settled in Kenya, the Copper Mines reaching towards the Congo, and the way down South broken here and there by mines at work or in process of prospecting, the central ridge has given to commerce and industry a sense of the unity of Africa; a realization that the road from Cape Town leads right on to the border of Abyssinia.

Thus has come, not only to the South African statesman, but to all the people, an appreciation of the place which the Bantu must take in the development of the continent, whilst at the same time holding that the supremacy of the White is absolutely essential to the peace and safety of South Africa. Because the South African Union has a privileged position in the continent, the South African problem to-day is how to bring European and Bantu together in understanding and sympathy.

The census for 1936, as returned, gives the population for the Union as under:

European	1,979,390	Asiatic	215,529
Bantu	6,529,784	Mixed	755,282

Add the Protectorates: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

European	5,551	Asiatic	59
Bantu	757,658	Mixed	1,010

This gives a total, Bantu 7,287,442; European 1,984,941.

With these facts of population before him the man of good-will gives himself furiously to think. Knowing the possibility of increasing cleavage between Black and White, he feels that any friction as between Dutch and English is comparatively of small moment. The Statute of Westminster hands over domestic affairs, indeed all affairs, to the South African Government so that Black and White must together work out their own salvation. As far as the area and the people within the Union are concerned the day of representations from the Colonial Office has passed away, but the Protectorates still give the British representative a seat at any round table where Bantu questions are considered. But it has to be remembered that these Protectorate areas are surrounded by the Union Provinces and are dependent on the Union for Ports, Markets and Labour Fields.

An experience and a letter may serve to mark a contrast of attitude on the part of the Native people in the earlier days of British rule and to-day.

In the 'nineties, during the cattle plague when all road transport was held up, I was living on a mission farm in the Northern Transvaal. During this period wagons were quarantined on the nearest outspan they could reach after the No-Movement proclamation was made. One morning there came to my study an upstanding Zulu who had walked from his wagon some three miles away; he took off his body-belt and shook out on to the table twenty sovereigns, saying, 'I want you to send this money for me to the magistrate of such a place in Natal to be paid over to my wife'.

Asked the Magistrate's name he said: 'I do not know, but he is the Queen's Magistrate.' He did not know me and he did not know the Magistrate, but the one was the Queen's Magistrate and the other a missionary, so he could trust us with his gold. Such in those days was the relationship in which magistrate and missionary stood to the African people.

350 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

The following letter, written twenty-five years later, comes from the same area—the Zoutpansberg—in which the Zulu showed such confidence in the white man.

‘Honourable Rev. of the Whites,

. . . I may just add one thing. Please I want Sir to pray the whole night and ask your God, the God of the Whites, to let the rain fall to-morrow or at any time of your whites. I will pray to my Grandfather the owner of our land to stop the rain and let his light burn all the thieves of his land. Our Gods cannot bear it longer they must do their will upon their land because you whites you are finishing us and our land too.

I have been in hell for few days in town I wept to see my nation burning like that under whites so I am asking the Gods of Makgatho to come and save us we cannot bear it any more. A white man can let a iron speak but he cannot make a man and he cannot make rain, my dead Grandfather can do all these things. Our Gods answered our prayer when will your God do that. They are angry now they are coming to ask your passes and the right to staying in the land. You Ministers you must be ready to answer them, you must watch them too.

Whites are funny they don't like the owners but they like their property are they wise. Union is asking for trouble.’

This letter serves to show the change of mind which has taken place in recent years and suggests some of the reasons for it. In this district some of the small tribes which had lived on lands they considered their own for many years found themselves squeezed out of their homes through various land settlements and were naturally very bitter about it. The relationship between the African people and the Government, which in times past was personal, has become impersonal: the machinery of administration has become thrust in between Bantu and the Supreme Chief. The King has receded into the background, and, though policy has sought to retain the personal contact through the Governor-General of the Union as Paramount Chief, the feeling obtains that the rulers lack sympathy and appreciation of the people's point of view. It may be seen that the ruling ideas as expressed are the apartness of Bantu and White, the land question and the pass regulation.

Those who knew South Africa in the days of Queen Victoria

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM 351

are aware of the manner in which the personality of the Great Queen made an appeal to the Native people. She was the Paramount Chief in all parts of the country as was King George V until the Act of Union. In later years the Administration has tried to keep the same personal contact through the Governor-General in that position, but the increase and spread throughout the Union of the White population has, in the minds of the native people, thrust in the background the personal relation and the barrier of what is felt to be an alien people stands between the Chief and themselves.

It has been recognized that such feeling of alienation should, if possible, be overcome, and by the Native Affairs Act of 1920 measures to this end were devised.

1. The permanent Native Affairs Commission.
2. The arrangement for Native Conferences.

The Native Affairs Commission is an advisory body consisting of not fewer than three, or more than five, members appointed by the Governor-General, and presided over by the Minister for Native Affairs. They are in receipt of salaries as Commissioners but may sit, if elected for a constituency, in the House of Assembly or as nominated members in the Senate. The function and duties of the Commission 'include the consideration of any matter relating to the general conduct of the administration of Native Affairs, or the legislation in so far as it may affect the native population (other than matters of departmental administration) and the submission to the Minister of its recommendations on any such matter'. Its functions are merely advisory, but adequate means are reserved to it of placing its views before the Cabinet and Parliament should its recommendations not be accepted.

The first three Commissioners appointed included Dr. Roberts, Dr. Stewart's right-hand man at Lovedale for many years, who is still a member of the Commission: and two other men well known and trusted by the Native people.

352 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

The Commission accepted as the first principles of its policy:

1. that it was primarily and essentially the friend of the Native people, and, as such, the needs, aspirations and progress of the Natives should be considered sympathetically by it.
2. that it was the adviser of the Government in matters affecting the Native interest.
3. that it should endeavour to win the confidence of the Natives and
4. that it should strive to educate public opinion so as to bring about the most harmonious relations possible between Black and White in South Africa.

The Act also revived, for the Union, the almost dead provision of the Transvaal Law for the summoning of conferences of Native persons and bodies representative of Native opinion with the object of enabling the Government to gauge more accurately the state of Native thought and feeling and of affording to those not otherwise represented the opportunity of expressing their views. The first Conference was held at Bloemfontein in 1922, and an important one at Pretoria in 1930. In this last Conference, General Hertzog's bills were considered but not favourably received. There was no Conference in 1931, 1932, 1933, or 1934. It would appear that a meeting to receive information and give the opportunity for an expression of opinion created an almost impossible position and left the Government only with the knowledge that advance in this matter was exceedingly difficult. The principle underlying this conference is that of the 'Pitso' of the Basuto and the 'Indaba' of the Zulu, where matters are considered and discussed, but action only takes place when there is practical unanimity. When it comes to a large assembly presided over by Whites and consisting largely of detribalized Bantu, an impasse often results.

These two provisions have an important part to play in the policy likely to have first place during the coming years. The European party in favour of the assimilation of the White culture by the Native has weakened, and that in favour of

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM 353

parallel development increased in number and influence; whilst that accepting the ideal of total segregation is very considerable. Anyway the segregationists and the parallel development groups have gained the day as against the Cape negrophilist of the pre-union days.

It is now accepted in principle, even by those who favour every effort to bring Bantu and European together in the best interests of each, that the fact of African race and culture is a factor to be recognized.

The main purpose of the Native Administration Act of 1927 is to consolidate the system of Native administration throughout the Union. Provision is made for tribal organization and control, with definite powers to remove individuals and even tribes in the public interest from place to place within the Union. One change is revolutionary. Native law and custom is recognized in special courts, with the proviso that such Native law shall not be opposed to the principles of public policy or natural justice. However, it is specially enacted that it shall not be lawful for any court to declare that the custom of 'lobolo' or 'bogadi' or other similar custom is repugnant to such principles. Provisions in the laws dealing with Letters of Exemption, in force in the Provinces, are repealed and the Governor-General is empowered not only to grant these privileges but to cancel them. The significant and outstanding feature of the Act is the provision for government by proclamation.

The purpose to treat the Bantu population as a distinct and separate entity is further seen by the fact that Asiatic and Mixed races fall outside the principle of exclusive treatment. Asiatics come under the provisions of the agreement made with the Indian Empire. It would appear for them, numbering 215,529, and the Mixed population, numbering 755,282, that the principle of assimilation with the European population of the Union is accepted. Indeed, the coloured as distinct from the Native, are brought under provisions of the old age pensions for indigent persons of 65 years of

354 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

age. Neither Asiatics nor coloured people are subject to the Pass Law.

The Pass Laws of the Transvaal and Orange Free State were consolidated under Proclamation No. 150 of 1934, certain Native areas as scheduled being excluded. But passes are required for leaving or entering such areas. In the Cape Province, except in the Transkeian Territories and British Bechuanaland, Natives enjoy complete freedom of movement. Natal requires Natives entering or leaving the province to be in possession of a pass, but they do not require a pass to travel within the province.

It is thus seen that the two northern provinces retain the old system of a residential pass which must be carried by every Native man, and be produced at the request of any policeman. This pass is more than a letter of identification, for it carries with it the restrictions of curfew and movement generally. It marks the bearer as less than a freeman and is naturally resented by the Native from the Cape Province, who has been accustomed to move about at will. The real hardness of the pass regulations is seen as it applies to the Urban and Industrial areas, for, though Section 14 of the Proclamation makes provision for the exemption of certain classes of Natives, it all turns upon method of administration as to whether such provision is in any way adequate.

On the Witwatersrand, with a Native population of 303,379, showing a density of 169·20 per square mile, these pass regulations are most acutely felt and resented by the many who have been used to the freedom of the South. There is much to be said for some measure of control of the very large number of mine workers, but the pass laws are antagonistic to British sentiment. In 1828 the laws against Hottentot vagrancy were abrogated in Cape Colony and that Province has never since looked with approval upon the Boer methods of Government. But the Transvaal and Orange Free State laws remain and have gained the ascendancy in the Union Parliament.

The Parliament Vote. Representation of Natives Bill.

In the provisions of the 1936 Act, the long controversy on the question of the parliamentary vote was closed by the retrograde action setting aside the ordinance issued under the authority of the British Government in 1828, by which men of all races were placed on an equal level. The controversy finds its definite beginning in the Grond Wet of the South African Republic in 1856, which declares there shall be no equality of White and Black either in State or Church.

In the convention which prepared the way for the South African Act of 1909, the question of Franchise and the coloured vote was debated. England was willing to give a free hand to South Africans to arrange matters in their own way but excepted two questions: that of the Native Franchise and the control of the Protectorates. If the settlement of the Franchise question was regarded as unsatisfactory by the Imperial Government, then the Protectorates would not be handed over. The question was a very difficult one because, whilst the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony had manhood suffrage for the Whites but excluded men of colour, the Cape Colony and Natal suffrage had a qualification test. Added to this, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick was probably correct in his opinion that if the question were put to the European people of South Africa, only one per cent would be in favour of representative government for the Native. Indeed, it may be said that the great majority of those who have studied South African questions think that the electoral or parliamentary franchise cannot safely be given to the Natives in general. They find the core of the matter in the fact that the supremacy of the white man is absolutely essential to the peace and safety of South Africa. Despite his many faults and failures, the European has made the country what it is and fears for its well-being if European civilization loses control of development and administration.

Colonel Stanford, speaking for the Cape Colony, moved

356 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

that 'All subjects of His Majesty resident in South Africa shall be entitled to franchise rights irrespective of race or colour upon such qualifications as shall be determined by this Convention', and this motion became the test of attitude for the representatives.

General Hertzog could not shake himself free of the anxiety he felt in regard to this question, and he saw great danger ahead if once the principle were adopted of giving votes to the Natives. There would be constant pressure to lower the qualification standard, and in the near future the Native voter would swamp the European. He could not see his way to agree to any suggestions in that direction which had been made and would be unable to give them his support.

Some nine different solutions were proposed. All the suggestions made included a civilization test. One which Lord Selborne recommended for consideration may be taken as indicating the complex nature of the question.

Test.

1. Monogamy.
2. Speaking a European Language.
3. Either owning property of a certain value, or, as an alternative, having worked for a number of years all the year round.
4. Habitually wearing clothes and living in a house as distinct from a hut.

With these tests a Native reaching the age of 31 years should have a vote value one-tenth the vote of a European: the second generation a vote value one-ninth, and so on until came the tenth generation with an equal vote.

Representatives of Natal, the most British of the States, would protect the Native interests, would secure them justice and freedom but were absolutely opposed to placing them in a position to legislate for white men. It may be noted that in Natal the voter's right is granted to a Native only through the Governor-General. There is one Bantu on the roll.

General Botha was of the opinion that their first duty was to bring about the union of the white races in South

Africa and after that it would be possible to deal with the Native population. He had never read the terms of the settlement at Vereeniging as contemplating the eventual grant of the franchise to the Natives of the Transvaal. In his opinion, an attempt at a final solution now could only have the effect of wrecking the object which the Convention had in view.

Finally, the Convention, faced with the opposition of Natal and the Free State representatives, and the statement of the Prime Minister of the Transvaal that if the Native Franchise was included in the constitution the people of the Transvaal would refuse to accept it, and holding that the immediate object was the union of the Whites, left the Cape coloured voters the franchise but refused to accept the principle of parliamentary representation for the Natives in the other provinces of the Union.

In 'An Act to Constitute the Union of South Africa, 1909', article 35 reads,

'Parliament may by law prescribe the qualifications which shall be necessary to entitle persons to vote at the election of members of the House of Assembly, but no such law shall disqualify any person in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope who, under the laws existing in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope at the establishment of the Union, is or may become capable of being registered in the Province of Good Hope by reason of his race or colour only unless the Bill be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members of both Houses.'

This article gives the compromise as finally agreed upon at the Convention, with the proviso that the number of coloured voters should not be taken into account in deciding the number of seats in the House of Assembly to be allocated to the Cape Province. The Protectorates remained under the Imperial Government. Now, however, in the Act of 1936, the strong opposition to the Native vote has prevailed. The Bill as brought forward would have taken away this vote altogether and left the Bantu without any representation

358 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

in the House of Assembly; but after long debate, a communal vote for the Cape Province Native was agreed upon. Placed upon a separate electoral roll they will send three representatives to the House.

The number of Bantu registered in the Cape Province as Parliamentary voters in 1933 was 10,776, and in the Province of Natal one only. For the Union the voters number, Men 486,906: Women 435,783: totalling 922,689, so that the reason for the action in the Union Parliament is not to be found in any danger of immediate Bantu control. Only in the Cape Province has such an open-door policy obtained and the European voters of the Transvaal, Free State and Natal think that, in the interests of the Union it should not become that of the Union.

Thus the whole trend towards segregation of legislation which began with the Native Land Act No. 27 of 1913, followed by the Natives (Urban Area) Act No. 21 of 1923 has found its issue in the Native Bill which deals with the franchise questions and has now become an Act of the Union Parliament by 169 votes to 11.

The Bantu is to have freedom of movement and development within the areas set apart for him but outside these areas he becomes subject to laws and regulations of a restrictive kind.

In legislation and administration, the Union Government claims that it has at heart the real interests of the Native people and that its measures are largely protective. During the last eleven years the expenditure on Native Education has risen from £340,000 to £600,000. It has given great consideration to economic and industrial questions as they affect the life and conditions of the Native People. It has sought the interests of the Native labourer by the Act which deals with recruitment, putting him under the care of the Director of Native Labour with headquarters in Johannesburg; the Director being also chief Native Commissioner for the Witwatersrand. Its labour policy has increased the

number of Native workers on the mines from within the Union by some 100,000; the amount now paid in Native wages being some nine million pounds a year. The health and comfort of the mine worker is exceedingly well looked after by the mine owners under Government supervision, so that the disease mortality rate fell from 7.19 per thousand in 1931 to 5.59 in 1933 and the total death rate from 14.35 in 1928 to 9.04 in 1933.

This labour policy has made the Native Reserves a reservoir of Native labourers willing to come out and work in the mines: but there is a large Native working population permanently resident in the White areas and especially on White farms. These Acts would perhaps be justified if the ideal of total segregation could be carried out, but historical developments and mutual economic dependence of Whites and Blacks have made a large proportion of Bantu an integral part of the structure of South African Society even in White areas.

'A White South Africa so organized that the Bantu is effectively extruded from organic participation in it' is an impossible ideal, for this would require territorial segregation, social segregation, economic segregation and political segregation of the thorough kind which would upset all existing arrangements domestic, industrial and economic. Of course, even the most rabid segregationist aims at nothing of this kind. He only thinks of the Native having his home and his family in territory set apart for this use and still available for work in the white man's home, on the farms, at the ports and on the mines as required. The Master and Servants Act, which makes the breach of a labour contract by a Native a criminal offence, with other legislation penalizing strikes of Black workers will still obtain, but the service pipes connected with the Native Territories and Reserves remain for the fruitful irrigation of the White Zone.

The reserves available for Natives, either by purchase or Government Grant, are to be largely increased and induce-

360 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

ments to occupy and live in such areas are to be offered to those Natives now living in White areas, but a hundred years of assimilation policy has made life under tribal conditions impossible for hundreds of thousands. General Smuts' assumption that they should be willing to sacrifice their personal interests for those of the Bantu in block has little appeal to them. It is these detribalized people—there are more than one and a half million declared Christians in the census return—who make their appeal to the Christian Churches of the world for an understanding sympathy. In the census return, some three and a quarter million are given as 'No Religion' (the note says this covers Bantu religions). 'No Religion' is a departmental classification and not that of the Missionary, but it carries with it the significance of a social life based on customs which the Christian man has left behind.

Scattered throughout the Union, many of them of the third generation of Christians, are found Natives equal in civilization with many of the Whites around them, quietly earning their living regardless of the many disabilities under which they live. Regulations which a European would find making life impossible have been accepted and made the best of. The urban area regulations intended as a wheel to restrain and keep them under, soon carries them on its side as it revolves. Here they rotate with ease if not with comfort. These many by-laws, including the Pass Laws, make no appeal to the conscience; they are merely regulations to be carried out, or evaded, as seems possible. Moral deterioration results.

It may be that the more than 325,000 Natives employed upon the mines present a police difficulty without the passport arrangement, but the Urban and Farm population are not of the same migratory class. To note the position and extent of the areas to be added to those already scheduled as exclusive Native lands will be interesting. Although such provision may stop the movement from the Reserves, there

will be upwards of a million who cannot benefit, unless prepared to change their way of life. For instance, the regular Native workers on farms on August 31, 1930, was 361,269 men: 114,640 women. These will have their homes there; a stable population of say 700,000. What becomes of the farming if they go: where can they go? In fact the Urban area workers are subject to the many disabilities of the segregation policy, and the farm worker, giving service for use of land on the owner's farm, remains a serf.

Whatever happens, it has been decreed that 'Bantu' shall not only appear in the Census return as a racial description, but shall also indicate a large number of tribes looked upon as racially one, and, by oneness of administration, made very conscious of their common interest. The White man may govern and go on his way without fear, for this host of people is unarmed, but the sense of unjust treatment in the minds of the very loyal Natives of the Cape Province who have had their common citizenship snatched from them, may create difficulties in days to come. And the All-African Convention, through the Committee which represented that body in the matter of these Bills, affirmed 'that blame must not be placed on them for any national repercussions that may result from the indiscretion of ill conceived and one-sided legislation'.

On the other hand, the Nationalist group—the Boer die-hards—had for many years made the Native question a fighting issue and a divisive question at each election. The Government now hope that, having approached the question from a national view-point, it will be removed from the political arena. The ideal of Common Citizenship for the Native has given way to that of Trusteeship, with the White Man as Trustee. It is probable that the Legislation as it now stands will serve for the present generation.

Knowing the Native, I am of opinion that they will speedily become aware of certain advantages and opportunities which this legislation of the latter years has given them. It recog-

362 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

nizes them for the first time in South African history as a people and not a conglomeration of small tribes.

The principle of White Trusteeship of the Bantu people having been accepted, it may be expected that the great Dutch Reformed Church will join with the other Churches and Missionary Societies in bringing home to all European people the implication of this trust. It gives direct representation to the Native through a communal vote: and though this at present only transfers the Cape Province Native voter from the common electoral roll to the new register, it leaves open the possibility for inclusion later of those in the other Provinces with like qualifications. Opinion may also become liberal enough as the roll of electors grows in numbers to give an increasing number of representatives. The Native voters will be able to gain some of the ablest men in the Union as their Representatives. It gives them the Representative Council of which General Smuts has expressed the hope that it would evolve into a Native Parliament. It leaves them the General Native Councils and the various local councils dealing with the administration of affairs in the Territories and Reserves. It leaves the Christian community with a social life having the Church as a centre which will continue to provide more and more the social influence which the great change over of recent legislation will require.

General Hertzog claims to have solved, in part at any rate, the Native Problem and affirms that the Government will make 'adequate and generous' provision for the acquisition of land for the Natives under the proposals contained in the Native Land and Trust Bill. It remains for the General and his Government to prove their good faith in dealing with the land question, for the eyes of the world will be fixed upon their action in this matter. If there is to be any justification for the segregation policy, it must be found in making ample provision of land available for Bantu occupation.

F. J. BRISCOE.

SOCRATES

'SANCTE SOCRATES, ORA PRO NOBIS'—ERASMUS.

Barefoot and coarsely clad, all winds alike
 Might shudder past thee in Athenian streets.
 Ungainly figure and uncomely looks,
 Inconstant season marked thy constancy.
 Beneath the Attic sky questioning youth,
 The slave, the freedman, hoplite, poet, priest,
 Thou prob'st the impatient mob braying of war,
 Of power and pelf. The Maiden Goddess gazed
 Not more intently in her golden trance,
 Out to infinity, than thou in thine.
 Oft in gray temples to adore the gods,
 Thou scatteredst thine incense, making quest
 Where least the murk of dark mortality
 Invested unveil'd sanctities of heaven,
 Proving the living voice inviolate.
 So true yet not untender, Socrates,
 The best in many a man was owed to thee.
 Thou wouldst have shamed the tyrant of his lust
 And stayed his murderous hand—and Charmides,
 Who perjured thy opinion in his course.
 The brilliant Alcibiades confess'd
 His own flaw'd life to owe some check to thee.
 Yet these, more than those murderous mannikins,
 Anytus and Miletus, worked thy death;
 More than the mordant Aristophanes,
 Convulsing groundlings. Thy most real foes
 Did but dilute thy doctrine to base end,
 Make traffic of uncertainty, and tune
 Unto the treacherous time their subtle wit
 To conjure conscience to convenience.
 O thou didst die for these, and every man
 Who swerves from virtue and the voice of God!
 And dying, didst thou dream of that demesne
 Where Orpheus lutanist to Homer sits?
 Or where Odysseus tells again those tales
 Of quarrel and of quest? Wouldst thou be judged
 By Minos, Radamanthus and the like?

O not to demi-gods didst go thy way,
 But to the very God, to meet His Son
 Who sent thee hither ere He came Himself,
 Again and yet again. O Socrates,
 Thou art of Him, and Plato is thy Paul,
 With Crito on thy bosom at the last.

R. SCOTT FRAYN.

Editorial Comments

CROOKED PARALLELS.

There is a natural tendency, to-day, to explain modern European dictatorships by reference to certain leaders of yesterday. Lenin is compared with Napoleon and, more frequently, Hitler and Mussolini are likened to Oliver Cromwell. The likeness is too readily assumed and the fundamental differences remain either unrecognized or conveniently ignored. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of Cromwell. He did not seek leadership. It is not too much to say that he sought first the Kingdom of God. Because of this his whole life was consecrated to a purpose much wider than the establishment of national prestige or the extension of imperial territory. He considered himself to be an instrument not a 'leader' in the sense of 'der Führer'. The task to which he set his hand and gave his heart was not defined within racial boundaries. To realize this is to obtain a corrective to one's valuation of present European policies. Most of us would agree with Wilhelm Dibelius when he wrote: 'the English achievement is, in the last analysis, not the individual achievement of single statesmen but the collective achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race.' Even so, the motives of Oliver Cromwell cannot be considered within such limits.

* * * * *

There is always something impressive about the pageant of successful dictatorship. Beginning with certain principles from Machiavelli, and accepting Nietzsche's theory of the will to power, modern dictators have created the totalitarian states. Their progress has been at least as spectacular as the career of Cromwell.

In October 1918 a little non-commissioned officer lay gassed in the Ypres salient. A few years later he was proclaiming a gospel which quickly captivated German youth growing up in post-war conditions. His young disciples had never known peaceful conditions in a self-respecting, independent country. They were dispirited, resentful and hard. Spurred on by social and economic necessities, the little Austrian corporal, with a mastery of technique essentially modern, insisted on the supreme importance of race and nation, and relegated the individual to the background.

In Machiavelli's famous phrase, 'twelve orators are of more use than an army'. The brilliant young Hungarian, Valeriu Marcu, recalling these words, says, 'The dictator is a dictator because he does not buzz about idly but acts as his own demagogue, and is thus able to do the work of twelve orators and an army as well'. Both Hitler and Mussolini, with voices amplified by modern apparatus, have succeeded in spreading their racial appeals to immense and eager constituencies. Whatever be our final judgement on their methods, it is true to say that Adolf Hitler has raised the morale of the German people as Benito Mussolini has unified and made efficient the Italians.

Is there not, then, some justification in comparing these modern dictators with 'His Highness The Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland', as Cromwell was officially styled?

There are certainly superficial resemblances—the unification of peoples within the nation, and the tendency to develop an empire, but they were only incidental in the case of Cromwell.

It is too soon to compare results. Cromwell's story is complete; the final chapters of the Russian, German and Italian adventures are as yet unwritten.

* * * * *

Dictatorship, in the general acceptance of the word, implies the exercise of sole authority. In that sense Oliver Cromwell was never a dictator. He continually emphasized the dual control vested in himself as the executive and the elected legislature as a *co-ordinate* authority. Again and again, in spite of increasing difficulties, he sought to maintain this second, but never secondary, power. In his speech of September 12, 1654, he once more declared that he summoned the Council of State in order to be rid of absolute power, desiring not to live for a day in the unlimited condition of boundless authority. The people elected failed him repeatedly, but he never abandoned the principle.

When his power *was* absolute and the military forces at his disposal overwhelming, he tried countless devices, not to strengthen his position, but, as Frederic Harrison says, 'to surround his authority with legal limits and Parliamentary control'.—It would be difficult to imagine our contemporary dictators struggling to achieve such a limitation of their present powers! Cromwell loathed the notion of military despotism, and desired, constantly, the maintenance of civil government through an elected legislature.

In his famous speech to Parliament on April 13, 1657, he said: 'I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good constable set to keep the peace of a parish.'

His refusal of kingship was no theatrical gesture. He reckoned it but 'as a feather in his hat'. 'I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like little creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep—rather than undertake such a government as this.'

Time and again his attempts at establishing a Parliament failed, but only death itself ended the attempting!

* * * * *

If, then, Cromwell had no love of personal power why should he have persisted in his tremendous task? All the essential facts point to one conclusion. The motive of his whole life was religious. There was always this final reference. No one could accuse him of expecting to find in himself or his nation the wherewithal to accomplish his God-given task. He looked, in all things, beyond himself, beyond England, beyond even 'the people of God' in all the nations.

When Mussolini wrote on 'Fascism' in the *Encyclopedia Italia*, he said: 'For the Fascist everything is in the State and nothing human or spiritual exists, or has any value outside the State.' To Cromwell such blind self-sufficiency would have been incredible.

Here is the clue to the fundamental difference. His ultimate resources lay beyond his country's frontiers, beyond the boundaries described by man, 'hid with Christ in God.' To say this is not to idealize him, not to blind oneself to his follies or his mistakes. They are obvious enough and he, himself, was conscious of many of them, but without such a fundamental acknowledgement one may imagine an unreal parallel.

A RECENT INTERPRETATION.

Professor Ernest Barker has recently offered a brilliant interpretation of Cromwell to a German audience. At the invitation of Dr. Burchard-Motz, President of the Friedrich Sthamer-Gesellschaft, in Hamburg, he delivered an address on the suggested comparison between the German Führer and the English Protector. Those who have read and appreciated the critical studies of Frith, Gardiner and Harrison, will find a final satisfaction in this short but vital book. The author claims Cromwell as a typical English Nonconformist, believing in the primacy of religious liberty, and the idea of the limited state based on free association and proceeding by free discussion. He believed also that all leadership came from God and that he himself was led. As far as might be his action was part of collegiate action.

His mistakes were to some extent enforced by 'necessity', and by his earnest conviction of the urgency of 'reformation'. The core of England is 'the people of God' not a company whose racial unity is their only bond. His community is therefore a community of faith, and his 'nationalism' is religious which may be international!

Whilst Cromwell maintained that political uniformity does not involve religious uniformity, Hitler insists that political uniformity must also involve the Protestant Churches of Germany religious uniformity.

If we are to seek in English history a precedent for totalitarian leadership, Professor Barker suggests we shall find it more truly in Henry VIII than in Oliver Cromwell.¹ To admit this—and it would be difficult to deny it in face of this lucid and logical exposition—would be to gain a more accurate valuation of contemporary European movements.

THE ANGEL OF THE PRISONS.

Seven little Quaker girls, red capes and rosy cheeks, stage-coach stopped by their mad-cap dancing across the sloping road to Lynn—Catherine, Rachel, Elizabeth, Richenda, Hannah, Louisa and Priscilla—can these be the daughters of honest John Gurney, wool-stapler and banker, and, most important of all, the Quaker of Norwich? They can and, more surprising still, Betsy the delicate and temperamental, who writes in her secret little book 'I must not mump when my sisters are liked and I am not'—Betsy is to become Elizabeth Fry, the angel of the prisons.

¹ *Oliver Cromwell*. Ernest Barker. The Cambridge Miscellany. 3s. 6d.

Somehow one had not imagined such a beginning. Thanks to the seven little 'journals' kept by these delightful sisters and thanks also to the discernment and descriptive powers of Mrs. Janet Whitney, we can meet once more Elizabeth, more lovable than ever because we have been introduced to Betsy! One can see the seven girls, by no means primly dressed, on compulsory parade at the Friends' Meeting-house in Goat's Lane, Norwich. They are rebellious and critical. It is only when solemn, forty-eight year old William Savery comes from America to speak to the assembled Quakers that Betsy's heart is stirred. A ride in the carriage with this man and her future is shaped. 'I have had a faint light spread over my mind . . . I have felt there is a God. . . . In short what he said and what I felt was like a refreshing shower upon parch'd up earth that had been dried up for ages.' It was a beginning, but from it came eventually a rich experience. A little later, in Deborah Darly's house, she crosses the threshold of her great adventure. 'After we had spent a pleasant evening; my heart began to feel itself silenced before God and without looking at others, I felt myself under the shadow of the wing of God. . . . Deborah Darly spoke. I only fear she says too much of what I am to be—a light to the blind, speech to the dumb and feet to the lame. Can it be? . . . I know now what the mountain is I have to climb. I am to be a Quaker.'

It was a steep slope, but she did not falter. The moving story of her struggle to 'serve' is more fascinating than modern fiction. Little scarlet-caped Betsy becomes at last Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Fry, reformer of English prisons, founder of schools and benefactor who brought libraries to lonely coast-guards and Dartmoor shepherds. At thirty-one she was an 'approved minister', but she was also the mother of seven children, speaking with authority, but with strange gentleness.

The visit of Stephen Grellet revealed a new sphere of service. She entered Newgate Prison and learned its awful secrets. Here was her great task—not to murmur pious words or distribute a few homilies, but to discover patiently remedial measures. Mother of eleven children, she did not excuse herself and leave the fierce challenge unanswered. Little by little she fought her way to incredible victory. Her influence spread across Europe. Kings and queens counted her friendship an honour, but above all, countless unnamed wretches blessed her for deliverance. From prison cells, from hospitals and shepherds' cots prayers of thanksgiving were breathed by those to whom her work had brought new hope.

It would be unbelievable that any could read this story unmoved. Others have tried to tell it, but too often it has been a mere record of events. The biography written by Janet Whitney stirs the soul to its depths, not so much by describing great achievements, as by telling simply and sincerely the life story of the little girl in the red cape who became the angel of the prisons, and who whispered in the last hour, 'Oh, Mary, Mary—it is a strift!—but I am safe'.

¹ *Elizabeth Fry. Janet Whitney. Harrap. 12s. 6d.*

Notes and Discussions

JOHN WESLEY AND MATTHEW PRIOR

'Prior's,' wrote Thackeray, 'seems to me amongst the easiest, the richest, the most charmingly humorous of English lyrical poems. Horace is always in his mind, and his song, and his philosophy, his good sense, his happy easy turns and melody, his loves and his Epicureanism, bear a great resemblance to that most delightful and accomplished master.'

THERE have, however, been many other opinions of the work of Matthew Prior, and to-day he is surely amongst the least read of once famous poets. He was probably born at Wimborne, Dorset, in 1664, but some time later he came to London to stay with an uncle who kept a tavern. Here he was seen by the Earl of Dorset, who was so struck at finding the boy reading Horace that he sent him to Westminster School in 1680. After going to Cambridge he returned to London to come into notice with a skit on Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, which he entitled *The Story of the Country and the City Mouse*. He continued to write satirical and light verse and in 1690 secured an appointment in the English embassy at the Hague. He soon began to take an important part in public affairs, wrote many poems in praise of William and Mary, and acted as secretary for the peace negotiations of Ryswick in 1697. Later on he became a Tory and conducted important business with Louis XIV with whom he was a great favourite. After a period of success, however, with the fall of his party in 1715 he was recalled to England, arrested and imprisoned. He was released but afterwards lived in retirement. In *The Conversation* he describes some of his political life, and after mentioning the Partition Treaty, says:

That stroke, for all King William's care,
Begot another tedious war.
Matthew, who knew the whole intrigue,
Ne'er much approv'd that mystic league:
In the vile Utrecht Treaty too,
Poor man! he found enough to do.

To ease his pecuniary difficulties his friends devised a plan to issue an edition of his poems which all the notable people of the time purchased. It was an enormous book, three feet by one in size, and from this Prior secured about four thousand pounds. He died in 1721, after expressing the wish to be buried in the Abbey at the feet of Spenser, and leaving £500 for a monument. This may still be seen with a very lengthy Latin inscription on it. His age was fifty-eight, but this did not prevent a friend from writing:

Horace and He were called in haste
From this vile Earth to Heaven;
The cruel year not fully pass'd
Ætatis, fifty-seven.

To-day he is chiefly remembered for his light verse and epigrams, but he wrote three long poems which were famous in his own time.

'Henry and Emma' was a poem modelled upon the old ballad of the 'Nut-brown Maid', and though we may think that under his treatment the charm has disappeared, it is of interest to note what Cowper thought of it. 'There are few readers of poetry of both sexes in this country who cannot remember how that enchanting piece has bewitched them.'

'Alma, or the Progress of the Mind' is a lengthy attempt in Hudibrastic verse to treat the subject of the vanity of the world. Prior liked his subject so much that he returned to it again in 'Solomon on the Vanity of the World. A Poem in Three Books'. This poem in the heroic couplet was Prior's favourite work; but most readers now would agree with Dr. Johnson who said of it in his *Lives of the English Poets*:

'Prior perceived in it many excellencies, and did not discover that it wanted that without which all others are of small avail—the power of engaging attention and alluring curiosity. Tediousness is the most fatal of all faults; negligencies or errors are single and local, but tediousness pervades the whole; other faults are censured and forgotten, but the power of tediousness propagates itself. He that is weary the first hour, is more weary the second. . . .'

Johnson, who was not over fond of Prior, says that in his light verse and epigrams 'he poached for prey among obscure authors', but it is to this class of verse that present-day readers turn. Probably the most famous 'Epigram' is:

To John I ow'd great obligation;
But John unhappily thought fit
To publish it to all the nation:
Sure John and I are more than quit.

John Wesley quotes more frequently from Prior than from any other poet except Milton, and says in his *Letters* that for a time he preferred him to Pope, though he later changed his mind. In his *Journal* he quotes from Prior eight times, in his *Letters* twelve times, and in the *Sermons* six times. In the *Arminian Magazine* for 1782, he wrote an appreciation and defence of Prior's poetry. It is of interest to note that the quotations are often taken from 'Solomon' as we might expect, but there are many from the lighter and shorter poems.

Charles Wesley shared his brother's enthusiasm for this poet and advised his daughter Sally to learn by heart the first book of 'Solomon'. He himself constantly used phrases from this poem in his own hymns. For example, anyone familiar with Wesley's hymns will recognize this phrase from Prior:

We weave the chaplet, and we crown the bowl,
And smiling see the nearer waters roll.

John Wesley often quoted these lines from 'Solomon' (Book 2):

Or grant, thy passion has these names destroyed;
That love, like death, makes all distinctions void;

Charles Wesley turned the last line into a verse of a hymn:

Love, like death, hath all destroyed,
Rendered our distinctions void!
Names and sects, and parties fall:
Thou O Christ, art all in all!

Many short phrases which recur in Wesley hymns may be recognized again when reading through Prior, for example such phrases as, 'Now, from instant Now', 'The sun's directer rays', 'My constant flame', 'As far from danger as from fear', 'No thought can figure and no tongue declare' and 'Our cautioned Soul'.

Prior often addressed poems to 'Chloe' of whom Johnson said: 'She probably was sometimes ideal; but the person with whom he cohabited was a despicable drab of the lowest species.' Pope also attacked him on this account, saying:

'He was not a right good man. He used to bury himself for whole days and nights together with a poor mean creature, and often drank hard. . . . Prior was nothing out of verse and was less fit for business than even Addison, though he prized himself much upon his talents for it.'

These tales greatly angered John Wesley, so in November and December, 1782, he came to the defence of Prior in the *Arminian Magazine*, with an article entitled, 'Thoughts on the Character and Writings of Mr. Prior'. He begins it thus:

'A Very ingenious Writer has lately given us a particular account of the Character and Works of Mr. Prior. But it is not likely to be a just one, and he formed it chiefly on the testimony of very suspicious Witnesses. I mean Mr. Pope and Mr. Spence: I object both to one and the other. They depreciated him to exalt themselves.'

He continues to quote the passages that offend him and generally assigns each one either to Pope or Spence before he answers their assertions.

On reading through various remarks about Prior, I discovered that the 'very ingenious Writer' was Dr. Johnson, and that the book that Wesley had been reading was *The Lives of the Poets*, or Prior's *Life* by Johnson which was affixed to the volume of his works. These lives were published between 1778 and 1781. All the quotations given by Wesley are to be found in Johnson's *Life of Prior*, though Johnson's sources of information seem to have been Pope and Spence. Wesley, however, greatly admired Dr. Johnson and was friendly with him: thus he attacks his sources of information rather than himself for publishing such an account. Later in the article he quotes extracts from Johnson's *Life* without assigning them to their personal sources—an impossible task because they were Johnson's personal views—and gives his reasons for believing them to be wrong.

Wesley says that Prior was not 'only fit to make verses', but 'he was really fit for every thing; for writing either in verse or prose; for conversation, and for either public or private Business'. Next he turns to the attacks on his character and quotes the passage about 'Chloe' which is attributed to Spence. This, of course, is in Johnson's *Life*, but Johnson is hardly consistent about Prior's character, possibly owing to the fact that he was joining together various accounts of the poet. In another place Johnson said, 'He lived at a time when the rage of party detected all that it was in any man's interest to hide; and as little ill is heard of Prior, it is certain that not much was known'.

Of the story that Chloe was 'a mean drab' who stole Prior's plate and ran away with it, Wesley says:

'I do not believe one word of this: although I was often in his neighbourhood, I never heard a word of it before. It carries no face of probability.'

He says that his brother, Samuel Wesley, was a great friend of Prior, as also was Bishop Atterbury, and that these would certainly not have been acquainted with him had he been as Spence described. He continues:

'Others say, "His Chloe was ideal". I know the contrary. I have heard my eldest brother say, "Her name was Miss Taylor, that he knew her well: and that she once came to him (in Dean's Yard, Westminster) purposely to ask his advice". She told him, "Sir, I know not what to do. Mr. Prior makes large professions of his love: but he never offers me marriage". My brother advised her to bring the matter to a point at once. She went directly to Mr. Prior and asked him plainly, "Do you intend to marry me, or no?" He said many soft and pretty things: on which she said, "Sir, in refusing to answer, you *do* answer. I will see you no more". And she did see him no more to the day of his death. But afterwards she spent many hours, standing and weeping at his tomb in Westminster Abbey.'

Wesley considered that Prior had far more natural understanding than Pope, but that he did not polish his lines sufficiently to secure the same correctness. He found 'Ease, Airiness, Lightness, and Facility' in much of Prior's poetry, and quoted for proof the lines he repeated frequently in all his works. They are from the beginning of 'The Lady's Looking Glass':

Celia and I the other day
Walked o'er the sand-hills to the sea:
The setting sun adorn'd the coast,
His beams entire, his fierceness lost:
And on the surface of the deep,
The winds lay only not asleep:
The nymph did like the scene appear
Serenely pleasant, calmly fair:
Soft fell her words, as flew the air.

'Where will you show me any softer numbers than these?' asks Wesley.

He then quotes what Johnson had said about the tediousness of 'Solomon', and adds, 'Did anyone ever discern it before? I should as soon think of tediousness, in the second or sixth Aeneid! So far from it, that if I dip in any of the three books, I scarce know where to leave off'. He continues by quoting about fifty lines from 'Solomon' and comparing them with Pope's 'Verses to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady'.

He concludes thus:

'Upon the whole, I cannot but think that the natural Understanding of Mr. Prior, was far stronger than that of Mr. Pope; that his judgement was more correct, his Learning more extensive, his Knowledge of Religion and of the Scriptures far greater. And I conceive his poetical abilities at least equal to those either of Pope or Dryden. But as Poetry was not his business, but merely the employment of his leisure hours, few of his pieces are so highly finished as most of Mr. Pope's are. But those which he has taken the pains to polish . . . do not yield to anything that has been wrote either by Pope, or Dryden, or any English poet, except Milton.'

He had previously defended Prior from most of the charges made by Johnson, Pope, and Spence, and had quoted various examples from his works including the well known lines from 'The English Padlock':

Receive her with extended arms:
 Seem more delighted with her charms:
 Wait on her to the park and play:
 Put on good humour; make her gay:
 Be to her virtues very kind;
 Be to her faults a little blind;
 Let all her ways be unconfin'd;
 And clap your padlock—on her mind.

In his *Works*, Wesley also quotes lines from 'The Garland', 'The Epitaph', 'Erle Robert's Mice', 'Epistle to F. Shephard', 'Charity', 'Henry and Emma', 'The Ladle', 'Lines to the Hon. Charles Montague', and has references to 'Sauntering Jack and Idle Joan'.

It is to poems such as this last rather than to the two thousand six hundred and fifty lines of moralization in 'Solomon', that to-day we can turn with pleasure. Only a dull mind could fail to find point, truth and enjoyment in 'The Epitaph':

Interr'd beneath this marble stone
 Lie sauntering Jack and idle Joan.
 While rolling threescore years and one
 Did round this globe their courses run;
 If human things went ill or well;
 If changing empires rose or fell;
 The morning past, the evening came,
 And found this couple still the same.
 They walk'd and eat, good folks: what then?
 Why then they walk'd and eat again:
 They soundly slept the night away;
 They did just nothing all the day: . . .

No man's defects sought they to know;
 So never made themselves a foe.
 No man's good deeds did they commend;
 So never rais'd themselves a friend. . . .

No tear nor smile did they employ
 At news of public grief or joy.
 When bells were rung, and bonfires made,
 If ask'd, they ne'er denied their aid;
 Their jug was to the ringers carried,
 Whoever either died, or married.
 Their billet at the fire was found,
 Whoever was deposed, or crowned.
 Nor good, nor bad, nor fools, nor wise;
 They would not learn, nor could advise:
 Without love, hatred, joy, or fear,
 They led—a kind of—as it were:
 Nor wish'd, nor car'd, nor laugh'd, nor cried:
 And so they liv'd, and so they died.

Possibly Wesley hardly did Johnson justice in his summing up of Prior. Johnson noted that as a youth Prior read Horace, and added, 'The vessel long retains the scent which it first receives', concluding, 'He wanted not wisdom as a statesman, or elegance as a poet'.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. *The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior*. Aldine Edition. 1866.
2. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. Vol. 9.
3. John Wesley. *Standard Edition of Journal, Letters, and Sermons*.

4. *Lives of the English Poets*. Johnson.
5. *The Arminian Magazine*. 1782.
6. *The Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Relations*. Henry Bett.
7. *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*. Vol. 5.

T. B. SHEPHERD.

RELIGION IN TRANSITION

IN this invaluable book,¹ six masters of the art of creative living tell the story of their spiritual pilgrimage. The object of the editor has been to collect the first hand experiences of leaders of thought, who, to use his own terms, are living creatively and prophetically. In this age of rapid transition of thought and practice none would deny the desirability of such an object. What effect have the religious and other revolutions had upon the inner life of men who may be regarded as leaders in the realms of psychology, philosophy, education and religion? The book supplies the answer. Seldom within the covers of one volume can the inner experiences of men who are universally regarded as leaders in their respective worlds have been so frankly recorded.

These good companions of the quest cannot, of course, be confined to any orthodox fold: they are too honest for that; but the story of the road they have travelled, even though tears were shed along the way, is calculated to be of great service to thoughtful pilgrims. The book may be recommended as a balancing factor to much of the devotional literature to-day. Oxford Groupers would find in its pages a healthy stimulant and corrective. When an aggressive evangelism is more needed than ever, and when even a market-place crowd has some knowledge of the deep problems of life, and is not unacquainted with rationalistic reprints, the evangelist who has grounded himself in these testimonies, divergent and various as they are, would find himself provided with a shield which would make him invulnerable to the attacks of both scientific materialist and the dabbler in psychological fantasia. There can be no question about the representative quality of the exponents. In the science of religious psychology no names stand higher than those of Coe, Leuba and Starbuck. The influence of Coe and Starbuck on religious education has been immeasurable. Modern missionaries are represented by that remarkable man, C. F. Andrews—a missionary who has won the admiration and respect of Indian thinkers and Hindu philosophers in an unparalleled degree. India is also represented by that scholarly and devout Hindu—than whom no man has done more to re-interpret Western thought to Easterners, and Eastern thought to Westerners—S. Radhakrishnan. Modern Catholic thought could find no better exponent than Alfred Loisy, that doughty champion of freedom for those whose environment is one of ancient and hallowed traditions. Truly a wonderful team.

¹ *Religion in Transition*. Edited by Vergilius Ferm. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

If ever a treatise of surpassing worth was packed into some sixty pages, it is the essay with which the book opens, 'My Search for Truth', by S. Radhakrishnan. He was the son of Hindu parents who were conventional in their religious outlook. He was never without a firm faith in the reality of an unseen world behind the flux of phenomena. A lover of meditation and of loneliness, a great reader, Radhakrishnan has never been at home in crowds, yet he has ever been fond of fellowship with individuals. Educated in Christian Missionary institutions, Radhakrishnan nevertheless resented very deeply the aspersion cast upon the Hindu religion by a type of missionary he unfortunately met. For Radhakrishnan saw a beauty even in his poor illiterate villagers which was absent from the lives of the emancipated, comfort-minded intellectuals eager for life and adventure. They were at least grounded in the faith that true knowledge was to know one's own ignorance; believing that contentment is better than riches, and a mind at peace with itself is worth more than the applause of assemblies. At least the illiterate Hindu has a conviction that man does not live by bread alone; the illiterate Hindu mother teaches her child that if he is to grow up religiously he must love God, abstain from sin, and be full of sympathy and help to those who are in trouble. The primitive Hindu does at least dwell on the contemplation of eternal ideas. They are without the pleasures of Speedway Tracks, nor do they travel very fast—but they struggle to behold the Divine with the eye of the mind, and to feed on the shadows of perfection.

Radhakrishnan suggests that this attitude of respect for all creeds, this elementary good manners in the realm of the spirit, is bred into the very marrow of one's bones by the Hindu tradition. He is a great believer in religious tolerance, as are all Hindus. The end of religion is an essential knowledge of God: but no formula can confine God. The true teacher helps us to deepen our insight, not to alter our view. The different religions, he says, are not rival or competing forces, but fellow-labourers in the same great task. God has not left Himself without witness among any people. Radhakrishnan is therefore the enemy of all intolerance, and has nothing good to say about a type of missionary (now, we hope nearly extinct) who would treat derisively the tenets of an ancient faith. We wonder whether our author does not at times confuse intolerance with a desire to purge such ancient faith from error and superstition. He is convinced that Jesus would not be intolerant. But possibly He would with some things which his ancient faith has permitted! He would not, for example, stand for the practice of child marriage, maybe He would use words of condemnation which might be construed as intolerance. And yet Radhakrishnan's point of view cannot be dismissed as though it were negligible.

To say the least, the views of this sincere Hindu merit our careful and unprejudiced consideration. He has endeavoured, by a thorough study of Hinduism, to find out what is living and what is dead in it. Certainly he succeeds in finding much that is living. Here are a few of Radhakrishnan's aphorisms, some old, others new, but all alike

brilliant. To have a vision of God requires a pure heart. To know the truth, not learning, but the heart of a child is needed. The ethical has a prominent place in the process of purification of the mind by which communion with God is brought about. When the goal is reached the spirit shines through and illumines the whole life, filling it with ethical character and vital energy.

According to Radhakrishnan, Hindu religion is to attain a knowledge of God, and the aim of ethics is to remake human life into the mould of the unseen. He sees that religion and ethics are bound up with each other. The sense of the spiritual and the longing for righteousness go together. The civilization of India is an attempt to embody philosophical wisdom in social life. There is nothing of caste-consciousness in the teaching of Radhakrishnan. He sees that spiritual values are realized on earth through the empiric means of family life, of love and friendship, of loyalty and reverence. To the truly religious all life is a sacrament. True social service is not denied by the Hindu religion but demanded by it. How like Christianity all this sounds: that is, the Christianity that is aware of its social implications. Radhakrishnan will not agree that the doctrine of *māyā* (the illusory character of the world) affects ethical conduct. The doctrine of *māyā*, says he, is dependent on, and derived from the ultimate reality. It has the character of perpetual passing away, while the real is exempt from change. Do we not get an echo of this in our Old Testament? The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God abideth for ever.

Radhakrishnan is a great admirer of Rabindranath Tagore, and confesses he owes much to his works. When in 1918 Radhakrishnan was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the new University of Mysore, he was a believer in a spiritual and non-dogmatic religion. When in 1920 he was appointed to the most important Philosophy Chair in India—the Chair of Mental and Moral Science in the University of Calcutta—he was still endeavouring to judge other creative artists by a sympathetic study of the best in their writings. He still reminds himself that humility is the mother of all writing, even though that writing may relate to the history of philosophy. He was still engaged in the congenial task of taking Hindu thought into the general stream of human thought. Then came lectures on 'The Hindu View of Life' in which Hinduism is represented as a progressive historical movement still in the making. Its adherents are not custodians of a deposit, but runners carrying a lighted torch.

Radhakrishnan is not blind to the weaknesses of Hinduism. He finds the chief cause of weakness in its liability to confuse tradition with truth. God does not say, 'I am Tradition', but He says, 'I am Truth'. Truth is greater than its greatest teachers. Surely it is true of Christianity as well as of Hinduism that 'we must realize the history of the race is strewn with customs and institutions which were invaluable at first and deadly afterwards'! He would ruthlessly cut out of Hinduism all those abuses which still survive, regarding his religion as a tree of life rather than a stately mosque. How true it

is to suggest, as does Radhakrishnan in his book, *Kalki or the Future of Civilization*, that though we have made enormous progress in knowledge and scientific inventions, we are not above the level of past generations in ethical and spiritual life. He sees that in some respects there has even been retrogression. Our natures are becoming mechanized. Here is a gem worth pondering: 'Behaviourist psychology teaches us that man has no inwardness and can be understood completely from the standpoint of the observer.' Radhakrishnan then reveals, as many others have done, the weak spots of our vaunted progress. We have mastered the science of production, yet many thousands starve. Why? He finds the lack in absence of fellowship and co-operation.

Radhakrishnan recognizes that the economic man is not the whole man. The new Hinduism surely merits our sympathetic study if it can produce such words as these: 'For a complete human being, we require the cultivation of the grace and joy of souls overflowing with love and devotion and free service of a regenerated humanity.' That looks very much like the flowering of the plant of Christianity. I wonder how much Radhakrishnan owes to the fact that his early training was in a Christian school! He is saturated with the Christian spirit as are so many modern Hindus from Gandhi downwards. It is not to be wondered at that he speaks scathingly of the prospect of such a world as Aldous Huxley describes in *Brave New World*. The elimination of the inner world of personal experience is not a sign of progress.

And so, with unerring insight, this wise man from the East puts his finger upon the weak places of our vaunted civilization. In eloquent sentences he describes the symptoms of the diseases from which we are suffering. Would that Christendom would take to heart the warning words of this inspired Hindu. This is his diagnosis. New gods of race and nation are being worshipped and the souls of men are perverted by cultural myths. Humanity is regarded by the idolators as so much material for carnage. Armaments are swollen as never before in the world's history, and the Armageddon seems assured. But we who have seen a vision of World Unity must not give up the struggle nor regard the clash as inevitable. War must not be accepted as inherent in the order of things. We must investigate its causes. Radhakrishnan pleads for a society, the basis of such democracy being the dignity of the human being. He will have neither the despotism of nationalism nor the tyranny of Communism. He sees in them both clumsy attempts at the creation of better conditions. 'Dictatorships are political devices born of despair.' With a discernment which few students of international affairs would challenge, he asserts that the League of Nations has been weighed in the balances and found wanting. It has turned out an instrument in the hands of the stronger nations to maintain the *status quo* and oppose those who demand change. 'Nominally international, it is worked by people who think and act nationally.' Somewhat scathing: but who can dispute that he has grounds for his indictment? He

proceeds: 'These speak of peace and collective security, the integrity of small nations, and the plighted word when it serves their interests.' He sees in the colonial question a psychological problem, and here is the root of bitterness which may cause war. He would that Great Britain—a country not without political idealism—might lead in the matter of sacrificial re-adjustment.

He asserts that the trouble with our civilization is that in our anxiety to pursue the things of time, we are neglecting the eternal, and the disease of to-day is caused ultimately by our neglect of eternal values.

And then we get a surprise: mixed up with all this brilliant survey—and it surely is a brilliant survey—of modern world tendencies, we come across this pearl of orthodox wisdom. On the lips of some it would sound a crude truism, but when uttered by one so well-versed as Radhakrishnan we perceive its wisdom: 'The only effective way of altering human society is the hard and slow one of changing individuals.'

Radhakrishnan the Hindu has a gospel of salvation. Man attains his deepest self by losing his selfish ego. That seems strangely reminiscent of something we have heard before. Man seeks to be a single indivisible unity or organism. Dissatisfaction and unrest accompany each breach in organic wholeness. In other words man seeks atonement: at-one-ment. A saved man is an integrated man. Integration is the way to joy and peace. To be integrated is to enter into life. This life is Spiritual bliss.

No individual is really saved until society is perfected. How like Christianity all this sounds! Radhakrishnan holds that the way to social progress and to the establishment of the reign of God is by sacrifice. That, too, we seem to have heard before! Then he reverts to the philosophy of Hinduism, which, he says, is a constant affirmation of the truth that insight into reality does not come through analytical intellect alone. The essence of life is creativity. There is no such thing as chance and there is no break in the chain of real connexion. The world is continuous creative activity. While he holds that reality can only come by intuition, he does not, as Bergson, oppose intuitional to rational knowledge. In intuitional knowledge, intellect plays a considerable part. But intuition assumes the continuity and unity of all experience. It is not true to say that Hinduism has no personal God. He is an ever-creating God. Thus history becomes the epic of the Divine will. God is the poet who in humanity acts His own creations. God is Personal Creator, Friend, Redeemer: not a figment of men's minds, but an aspect of the Absolute. God's purpose is the perfecting of individual souls. Religion was defined by Micah as 'doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God'. Radhakrishnan would accept that definition, and would add to it—the making of our fellow-creatures happy. His religion also includes a belief in human equality—in the flesh as well as in the Spirit.

The Christian pulpits of Oxford, Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool honoured themselves as well as Radhakrishnan when they

opened their doors to this son of India. He confesses that he was much gratified when the English papers said of his sermon, 'Revolution through Suffering'—'Though the Indian preacher had the marvellous power to weave a magic web of thought, imagination, and language, the real greatness of his sermon resides in some indefinable spiritual quality which arrests attention, moves the heart, and lifts us into an ampler air'.

It was customary in our boyhood to hear sermons on Meditation. If India recalls us to meditation and teaches us to appreciate the value of silence, what matter if it be called Yoga? Better Yoga than the restlessness of this age. Very tenderly our philosopher dissects the truly blessed life. How he tears the veil from our shallow insincerities and recalls us to that quietness and confidence which alone lead to rest.

Naturally, being a Hindu, he sees much virtue in suffering. Life without suffering can never be perfected. Suffering adds the jewel to the crown of the saint. Pain nobly borne and service which is sacrificial bring men to perfection. People who light fires in cold rooms are the salt of the earth. Maybe the orthodox theologian would say that Radhakrishnan makes light of sin.

It is unnecessary to add that this somewhat full summary of the teaching of Radhakrishnan is in no wise meant to lessen the importance of the rest of the book. The names of the contributors are proof against that. An equally lengthy summary of them all would fail to do justice to the importance of their essays. But so much has been written on the other side, that one felt that one whose life has been devoted to the ministry of reconciliation merited the space which has been given. Radhakrishnan would be the first to admit the value of the work of such missionaries as C. F. Andrews and others of his type. The story of C. F. Andrews' conversion and call to the task of world-evangelism is very tenderly told here. He tells of his friendship with Mahatma Gandhi and describes vividly the awful crimes which have been committed against the oppressed Indian people. He confesses that the great influences in his thinking life have been Gandhi and Tagore. There came a time in his pilgrimage when he realized the beauty of the lives of seekers after God in India and other countries, who had followed other pathways of the religious life, but had in the end found Him whom their souls desired. The fact that Andrews began to see Christ in the saintly men in the Hindu and Islam religions accounts for the reverence in which to-day he is held by men of all the creeds. Dr. Albert Schweitzer was also a formative influence in the life of this good man.

For the route by which Professor A. E. Coe has travelled in arriving at the convictions which now he holds; for Alfred Loisy's pilgrimage from credence to faith, and to a spiritual and scientific liberty free

from all hindrance; for his belief that a moral religion of humanity would be the crown of the religious and moral evolution of past ages; for the assertion for which he gives his reasons, that the Jewish and the Christian religions do not constitute a primordial, unique, and definite fact in the religious evolution of mankind, but are a product, remarkable, and even the most remarkable of that historic evolution; and the vision of a religion to be realized on earth that shall be the crown of Christianity and all other religions, and that shall perfect all men and lead them into the life of the spirit and of communion with God—for a graphic and fascinating account of these pilgrimages, I must refer my readers to this exceedingly stimulating book. James H. Leuba writes with profound insight and charm of the influences which have shaped his life, and made him into one of the world's leading authorities on the psychology of religious life. Professor Starbuck writes of 'Religion's use of me'; one of his most engaging suggestions being that at the great universities there should be adequately endowed Institutes of Character Research, each with fully manned laboratories in experimental psychology, containing devices for mental measurements and for diagnosis, by means of accurate units objectively controlled.

Truly the Science of Man is but yet in its infancy. Happily the world is not to-day without guides. In no world are they more needed than in the world of the psychology of religion. Professor Starbuck is not over-stating his case when he says that 'When one keeps in mind that the developments in astronomy from Copernicus to Galileo occupied a century and a half, and from Copernicus to Newton two and a half centuries, the tremendous advances in the field of the psychology of religion—with a history of only a half-century—have burst like a dream on the world'.

PERCY S. CARDEN.

JOHN WESLEY AND DIVINE GUIDANCE

THE need for a thorough re-examination of the nature of Divine Guidance is suggested both by contemporary theological thought and by contemporary religious movements.

In Germany and in England emphasis is being laid, from different points of view, upon the idea of Revelation; and personal Inspiration—its possibility and its nature—is one of the principal aspects of that inquiry. Meanwhile, popular religious movements—notably the 'Oxford Group'—are characterized by an emphatic belief in direct personal Guidance. A theoretical discussion of the nature of such Guidance will appear to many to be a barren substitute for experience. But the history of religion provides many warnings as to the danger of an experimental religion that has not behind it clear, systematic thought. Therefore, in the practical interest of religious life in our time, as much as in the more detached interest of theological inquiry, a re-study of Guidance is called for.

This article only attempts to make a limited contribution to that study, namely, a summary of the teaching of John Wesley about this subject. The thought of Wesley is not only of special interest to Methodists; it is of importance because of the emphasis that he laid upon personal experience, and because of the influence of the Methodist Revival. What did this religious leader—whom Lecky more aptly described when he called him 'one of the most powerful and most active intellects in Europe', than when he said that there was 'not much originality or speculative power' in his thought—believe and teach about Guidance?

The word 'Guidance' has acquired a popularity which it did not possess in the eighteenth century, nor in any other century. But that for which the word stands—the personal inspiration of individuals by God—is no new matter of belief. John Wesley did not, however, give to this subject the prolonged and systematic treatment that he gave, for example, to Justification by Faith, or to the Witness of the Spirit. We shall see that fact to be of importance for the understanding of his point of view. Yet he dealt at some length with the question of 'perceptible inspiration'; and other aspects of his thought about Guidance may be gathered from his writings.

The possibility and the actuality of the full personal work of the Holy Spirit was, of course, one of Wesley's main doctrines. It was for this truth that he argued, almost fiercely, against all opponents. Indeed he emphasized that every good thought, every right action, is due to the work of the Spirit. In his *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion* he wrote:

'Sometimes He [the Spirit of God] acts on the wills and affections of men; withdrawing them from evil, inclining them to good, inspiring (breathing, as it were) good thoughts into them.'

He proceeds, in this passage, to mention the 'metaphor' *spiritus*, in its various translations, and adds:

'But however it be expressed, it is certain all true faith, and the whole work of salvation, every good thought, word, and work, is altogether by operation of the Spirit of God.' (Part 1, i. 6.)

Elsewhere he constantly urged the immediacy of the influence of God. Yet one is impressed, both in the *Farther Appeal* and throughout Wesley's writings, by the absence of reference to God 'telling' men how to act. There is a noticeable lack of any claim to that kind of special Guidance on his own part, and a caution in urging others to seek for it. To the charge that he and Whitefield claimed 'to be led by the Holy Ghost, by the infallible Spirit of God', he replied: 'Not in our private opinions; nor does either of us pretend to be any farther led by the Spirit of God, than every Christian must pretend to be, unless he will deny the Bible.'¹

When Mr. Viney, of the Church of the Brethren, came to him about a controversial matter, saying, 'After much prayer I wrote to you. . . . I knew it was the will of God I should come', Wesley

¹ *Farther Appeal*, Part 1, v. 29.

replied, somewhat coldly: 'If you go back, you are welcome to go; if you stay with me, you are welcome to stay; only whatever you do, do it with a clear conscience, and I shall be satisfied either way.'¹

This caution in claiming particular inspiration, in the sense of *ad hoc* instructions from God, is the more noteworthy in Wesley's *Journal* because of his well-known readiness to claim 'special providences'. With that belief we are not here concerned; but the constant reference to Divine intervention in circumstances leads the reader to expect to find equally frequent remarks such as 'the Lord told me to . . .', or 'I was guided to. . .'

What is the explanation of this reserve on the part of one who attached supreme emphasis to the living, personal work of the Holy Spirit? The answer to that question may be found, firstly, by examining Wesley's attitude towards Reason and Scripture, and, secondly, by discovering why, as has been said, he did not give to the question of Guidance the prolonged treatment that he gave to other themes.

I

Wesley disclaimed a belief in *infallible* Guidance, personally received, when he wrote: 'I desire none to receive my words, unless they are confirmed by Scripture and reason.'² We will consider 'reason' first.

1. In his repeated discussions of the scope and limits of man's reasoning powers Wesley emphasized the many subjects concerning which man is ignorant, and the inability of Reason to produce Faith. But he also said:

'By the due use of reason we come to know what are the tempers implied in inward holiness; and what it is to be outwardly holy—holy in all manner of conversation; in other words, what is the mind that was in Christ; and what it is to walk as Christ walked.' (Sermon on 'The Case of Reason'.)

If he was a staunch opponent of the Deists, he was no less opposed to the 'Mystics' who, he believed, under-estimated the importance of man's own reasoning faculties. He accepted Locke's denial of the existence of innate ideas and his dictum that 'all our ideas come from sensation or reflection', though he qualified this agreement by asserting the need for special 'spiritual senses'—the gift of God—by which spiritual truth can alone be comprehended. If he never clearly defined the nature of these 'spiritual senses', nor fully succeeded in defining 'reason' itself, he failed in high company. But Wesley was not primarily a philosopher. So far as our subject is concerned, his purpose was to stress both the need for human thought, and the need for the power of the Holy Spirit without which man cannot perceive spiritual truth. He sought to steer a

¹ *Journal*, Feb. 19, 1744. It is improbable that Wesley would have adopted the distinction between Guidance and Conscience that is made by Canon Streeter: 'Conscience tells you the difference between right and wrong; but guidance tells you which you ought to do of two things which are both right.' (*The God Who Speaks*, p. 163.)

² Letter to Mr. John Smith, Dec., 1745 (4).

middle course between the rationalism of the Deists and the alleged irrationalism of the Mystics. He was anxious to defend the truth that Faith is the gift of God; he was equally anxious to assert that man must use his own mind, and not claim, as a substitute for thought, a personal, private gift of truth. By the use of reason we can know what is outwardly and inwardly holy.

A passing reference may be made to a kindred topic, the question of Free-will.

Here Wesley was equally emphatic, without attempting to deal with many of the problems involved in this conception. In words that might be a prophetic quotation from Dr. John Oman, he wrote: 'There is no virtue, but where an intelligent being knows, loves, and chooses what is good; nor is there any vice, but where such a being loves and chooses what is evil.' (Sermon '*The end of Christ's coming*'. Sect. 6.) He was at pains to assert that man is not an instrument, as a sword is an instrument, and that, though our nature is corrupt, yet 'through the Grace of God assisting me, I have a power to choose and do good as well as evil'. In short, Wesley was as far from Calvinism and from Quietism as he was from Deism. He had no place in his thought or practice for any form of religion which denied either the obligations or the possibilities of man's own thought and of man's own free choice and action.

2. It was, however, Wesley's attitude to *Scripture* that dominated his mind. When he wrote, 'I desire none to receive my words, unless they are confirmed by Scripture and reason', we may be sure that he implied 'especially by reason at work upon Scripture'.

If the root of his quarrel with the Deists lay in their denial of particular providences, the root of his quarrel with the Quakers lay in his belief that they taught the Scriptures to be only of secondary importance, and the personal direction of the Holy Spirit to be of primary importance. He replied to the teaching of Robert Barclay with emphasis: 'The Scriptures are the touchstone whereby Christians examine all, real or supposed, revelations.'¹

Words of great significance for our inquiry occur in the Sermon on 'The Nature of Enthusiasm':

'How is a sober Christian to make this inquiry? [i.e. to know what is the will of God.] Not by waiting for supernatural dreams; not by expecting God to reveal it in visions; not by looking for any *particular impressions* or sudden impulses on his mind; no; but by consulting the oracles of God. "To the law and the testimony!" This is the general method of knowing what is the Holy and acceptable will of God.'² He argued that Scripture gives general principles which, by the aid of reason and experience, may be applied to all particular cases. Writing to the Bishop of Gloucester, he suggested that the

¹ *Letter to a person lately joined with the people called Quakers.* Wesley confessed elsewhere that his knowledge of Quaker writings was limited to reading Barclay. Their attitude to the Sacraments, combined with what he believed to be their attitude to Scripture, aroused an antipathy which amounted to prejudice.

² Sermon 32 sect. 22 (Stand. Ed.) Italics are in the original.

promised 'word of wisdom' meant 'light to explain the manifold wisdom of God in the grand scheme of Gospel salvation'; and that 'the word of knowledge' meant 'a power of explaining Old Testament types and prophecies'.

And so the 'Guidance' that Wesley most clearly asserted was that promised in St. John, that of the Holy Spirit who interprets the teaching of Christ. The Spirit is the 'Guide' to the 'Rule' of Scripture. Indeed, at times he attached almost exclusive importance to the Bible. 'When I was young I was *sure* of everything. In a few years, having been mistaken a thousand times, I was not half so sure as before. At present I am hardly sure of anything, but what God has revealed to man.'¹

II

Wesley, therefore, did not urge his followers to seek for special Divine instructions as distinct from those that may be gathered from Scripture, by the use of reason illumined by the Holy Spirit.

But that statement does not represent the whole of his attitude towards Guidance. We turn now to examine why the fact of 'Guidance' assumed a subordinate position in his mind and teaching.

In an important letter to Mr. Potter (Nov. 4, 1758), he dealt explicitly with 'particular and immediate inspiration'. His opponent, in his sermon on 'The pretended Inspiration of the Methodists' had attacked Wesley's teaching. In his reply Wesley made it clear that by Inspiration he meant 'that inward assistance of the Holy Ghost, which helps our infirmities, enlightens our understanding, rectifies our will, comforts and purifies and sanctifies us'. And this, he emphasized, is *all* he meant—'so I have declared a thousand times in private, in public, by every method I could devise'. Wesley was at pains to deny that man can recognize the *methods* by which the Spirit works. That which man can, at times, recognize is the *result* of that work. We cannot always discern between 'His suggestions and the motions of our own rational nature'. But, when we can so discern, what we recognize as His work is 'such peace or joy, and such love to Himself and all mankind, as we are sure are not the motions of our own nature'.

That is to say, Wesley asserts that man *can* receive a 'perceptible inspiration', though he himself would prefer the word 'testimony' to 'inspiration'. ('I use the phrase "testimony of the Spirit", rather than "inspiration", because it has a more determinate meaning'.²) But we must note carefully what this perceptible testimony or inspiration is: 'I suppose every Christian believer, over and above that imperceptible influence, hath a direct perceptible testimony that he is a child of God.'

¹ Quoted Eayrs, *Wesley: Christian Philosopher, &c.*, p. 80.

² Letter to Mr. John Smith, June, 1746 (sect. 6). The 'lack of determinate meaning' is even more characteristic of the word 'guidance'.

In a letter to Dr. Stebbing (July, 1739) Wesley makes one of his comparatively rare uses of the word 'guidance'.

'As you hear the wind, and feel it too, while it strikes upon your bodily organs, you will know that you are under the guidance of God's spirit the same way—namely, by feeling it in your soul; by the present peace and joy and love which you feel within, as well as by its outward and more distant effects.'

This leads us back to the quotation from the *Farther Appeal* with which we began (Page 380 above). Wesley asserted that every good thought, word, and action is by operation of the Spirit of God. He would have indignantly denied that he claimed less than did those who laid all the emphasis upon 'particular impressions'. And he is not anxious to contend with those who dispute as to the nature of 'perceptible inspiration'. If his critics will admit that 'men have the spirit of adoption crying in their hearts, Abba, Father; and that this Spirit witnesseth with their spirits that they are children of God', then 'we will never dispute, whether the Spirit does or does not whisper anything to their hearts'.¹ So far from such 'whispers to the heart' being of unique importance, they were, in Wesley's judgement, of small concern in comparison with the fact that man may become a child of God by Adoption. For then he becomes a new man; his mind is enlightened, he has the vision of spiritual realities, a new will, and a new power to do good. The particular inspiration that man needs, over and above that given through Scripture, is 'power to think the things that be good and also perfectly to love and magnify His holy name'. To Wesley's mind this conception of the new life included all that was most valuable in the idea of Guidance, whilst it avoided the dangers of extravagance, fanaticism, and individualism—dangers which Wesley realized quite as fully as any of his critics. The 'Heavenly Guide', as his brother Charles sang, is One

Who with us shall abide,
His Comforts impart,
And set up His kingdom of love in the heart.

With that 'kingdom in the heart', 'we shall not full direction need, nor miss our providential way'. It is not particular impressions, isolated, direct communications, that man needs so much as a completely new nature, without which he cannot think what is right nor do what is good.

. . . . We cannot think a gracious thought,
We cannot feel a good desire,
Till Thou, who call'dst a world from nought,
The power into our hearts inspire.

Thus the thought of Wesley on the idea of Divine Guidance was dominated by his unswerving loyalty to both parts of the Protestant doctrine, *sola gratia, sola Scriptura*. All goodness and knowledge of divine truth come to man through Grace alone, and the standard of judgement, as well as the supreme source of such truth, is the Bible. Wesley's main interest was in doctrines such as those of

¹ A Sufficient Answer to 'Letters to the Author of "Theron and Aspario".'

Adoption, the New Birth, the Witness of the Spirit, and Perfect Love. To him the essential matter was that man should become, and should know himself to be, a child of God. In such a life all things are new; from a human spirit that is cleansed at its springs, truer thoughts and better actions flow.

That Wesley left problems still to be discussed there is no need to deny. His attitude towards 'reason', and in particular his acceptance of Locke's main tenet, will still be criticized from opposite positions. Nor can he be said to have fully examined the relationship between the 'rule' of Scripture and the 'Guide'—the living Spirit of Truth.

But that Wesley was true to the essential nature of the Christian Gospel, in giving to Guidance a subordinate position within the totality of religious experience, is equally undeniable. The practical question, of urgent importance to-day—that a study of his teaching on this matter suggests to us—is, How can this message of 'full salvation' be presented in a way that will reach the minds and affect the lives of this generation? Wesley knew how to present it to his generation; and, in its essentials, it was the message of the early Church.

There is, perhaps, a tendency to-day to seek for a 'God of convenience', who will save us from the effort of thought and from the unpleasant consequences, in this life, of mistaken actions. Therefore the message of direct guidance is most readily received.

Yet this generation needs, no less than any other, more than 'particular impressions' and 'whispers to the heart'; it awaits the power of Him who says: 'Behold! I make all things new!'

FREDERIC GREEVES.

BROTHERHOOD ECONOMICS

It is always a matter of interest to know what a clear-eyed student of human affairs, devoted to the cause of the common people and an avowed Christian, thinks of modern society and the prevailing social order. Especially is this so when the student happens to be an Easterner who has not only met the problem in his own country but has examined and tested it in the West. For these reasons this latest book by Dr. Kagawa¹ is very welcome, the more so because so many people are now aware of his self-sacrificing work in the slums of Kobe and of his loyalty to the Christian faith. Although by this time many of his readers know that Dr. Kagawa is not merely a preacher of individual salvation, it is necessary to become acquainted with this present book to appreciate his position as an advocate of Christianity. For here is indicated his mind and policy in relation to the social order.

Dr. Kagawa sees, what most of us have now become aware of, that the world is in chaos. He looks closely at this condition and forms

¹ *Brotherhood Economics*. By T. Kagawa. (S.C.M. Press. 5s.)

certain conclusions. These conclusions are, to summarize, that the policy of laissez faire has led us into hell, that the Christian Church of to-day is not preaching a gospel which satisfies the whole life of man, that there is a Christian responsibility toward social and economic problems, that the great opponent to-day of the Christian world mission is the world mission of Communism, that the great challenge to Christianity to-day is to solve the problem of economic reconstruction. All this is by no means new. What is new, however, is the suggested remedy. This he discovers not alone in his interpretation of Christian teaching (Biblical texts are sometimes made to conform to the demands of his own philosophy) but in the application of that teaching to the social problems which have confronted him in his own country of Japan. Necessity has been laid upon him for, we are told, Christian doctrines do not impress the Orientals. It is only 'love in action' that will enable his people to sacrifice their ancient background. Dr. Kagawa is in no doubt about this. 'In order to win the Orient to Christ, it is necessary first to demonstrate its all-conquering effectiveness in economic reconstruction in the Occident.'

The first glimmerings of this awareness appear to have come to Dr. Kagawa after his return from his studies at Princeton. Previous to this he had realized that three kinds of Christian missions were needed in the slums: free clinics, education, preaching the gospel. He confesses, however, that on his return to Japan he changed his tactics—he began to organize labour unions. 'Unless there was a change in economic systems, I thought, it was completely hopeless to combat the slums.' Following a big general strike he was arrested and cast into prison, suffering the same fate later when he organized the Farmers' Union. 'I knew', he says, 'that we had to show the reality of the saving power of Jesus Christ, not only in personal but in social salvation.' From this activity he appears to have found not only his most important recent work but the system in which he has put his faith and which, he believes, can create a social order where Christianity can be applied. He began to organize Consumers' Co-operatives, Credit Co-operative Pawn Shops, University Students' Credit Co-operatives. 'There are five million, two hundred thousand families in the Co-operative Federation in Japan, and fourteen thousand associations. Eighty per cent of the farmers are organized into co-operatives. This is Christian brotherhood, love in action.' It is his proud boast that in Japan the majority of its social workers come from the Christian churches and instances the interesting fact that the Japan Federation of Labour was started in a church in Tokyo.

Dr. Kagawa has been hastened in his task of finding a solution to the problem of modern society because of the influence of communism. Karl Marx, he declares, is read more in Japan to-day than in any other country except Russia and confesses that although a few decades ago only radicals became Christians, to-day he is almost the only one left, the others having forsaken Christianity for either militarism or communism. Yet he sees no hope in communism (which he examines and rejects) and looking at other agencies he is led to

discountenance them. He regards the Labour Party in England as being, on account of the failure of the MacDonald Government, insufficient and speaks of the failure of the German Social Democratic Party. On the other hand, he is convinced that there is nothing to be gained by attempting a revised form of capitalism. 'No matter how much we control it, capitalism is founded on the principle of free competition and possesses the four following characteristics: a system of exploitation; the accumulation of capital in the hands of the few, resulting in the creation of an upper or leisure class; with the concentration of capital, the consequent concentration of power into the hands of the ruling classes; an ever-increasing and vast majority of non-property-owning, poor wage-earners, for which the proper term is the proletariat.'

The new way of social reconstruction has now become quite clear to this challenging writer. It is to be found neither in materialistic communism nor in political socialism and is beyond the reach of merely credal Christianity. Dr. Kagawa puts his faith in the co-operative movement, regarding it as alone possessing the power to spiritualize once again our machine civilization. Violence, whether that of communism or national socialism, fails to accomplish economic revolution. Violent revolution, he asserts, though temporarily successful, is never permanently so: its only good is that it may abolish a powerful exploiting class. But the requirements and necessary elements of economic value are life, labour, change, growth, selection, law, and purpose. The removal of an exploiting class is only one element and, therefore, inadequate. On this ground alone violent revolution must fail. There is, of course, the need of a fundamental revolution of ideas concerning wealth and professions in their relation to property rights, inheritance, and right of contract. Yet only as these conceptions are based on religious consciousness can economic revolution be completely realized. Dr. Kagawa, as well as the communists, believes in a classless society but it must be of society as a whole and not merely a section of it. This, he believes, the co-operative system can achieve.

Believing, then, that the co-operative movement (a brief history of which is submitted and its working policy outlined) is in accord with Christian ideals of love and brotherhood and being persuaded that the Labour Movement alone cannot accomplish the necessary reconstruction of the economic order, he proposes a reconstruction through seven types of economic co-operatives and a co-operative State plus a Christian Co-operative Internationale. The seven types of co-operatives are Insurance, Producers, Marketing, Credit, Mutual Aid, Utility, Consumers, all of which are explained and their purpose indicated. Realizing that these co-operatives must be followed by a co-operative State, the requirements of such a State are set out. This would be built upon a national federation and would demand an industrial congress and a social congress as the two houses of government, and a cabinet. The transition period from capitalism to co-operatives is not overlooked and the method of purchase rather than

expropriation is suggested while a place, within limits, is left for private ownership and individual enterprise. Applied to world affairs, Dr. Kagawa sees the hope of world peace in the brotherhood love of the co-operative system. He is persuaded that the causes of war are economic and due mainly to greed. Co-operation would eliminate greed and remove the causes of war. He believes that some military force would be needed for defensive purposes but inclines to the idea that an international force would be practicable for all contingencies under a co-operative order of society.

A new religious economics would appear to be perfectly justified. Whether or not the solution propounded by Dr. Kagawa will be found to be adequate is open to question. It is certainly a long way from being tried out. Nevertheless, we think the main principles underlying this suggested policy are sound and in harmony with the Christian position. Some such policy will need to be adopted in a more Christian order of society. The difficulty at the moment is one of procedure and method.

The chief value of the book is in its challenge of the present order of society and of the economic system. We believe Dr. Kagawa to be quite right when he says that the modern capitalistic system has trodden the Cross underfoot, ignoring its economic implications and regarding it only as a sacred thing without economic value. Dr. Kagawa is of the opinion that although Christ put God first, He did not ignore economics and argues a similar interest in St. Paul. If it is true, as Dr. Kagawa states, that almost all the organizations of brotherhood love have been developed outside the Church, there is something for all Christians to ponder over. Maybe, no words deserve consideration so much as these: 'If we leave economic activities as they are to-day the peace of the world will never be established. Neither will religion in its present state ever realize world peace.'

We congratulate Dr. Kagawa on the production of a stimulating and provocative work that cannot fail to arouse the Christian conscience to the evils of the economic system of our day and on his brave, if somewhat naïve, attempt to indicate a new and better way of life. We express the hope that this book will be widely read, as it deserves to be, and that preachers and social workers alike will carefully consider this impressive message of brotherhood economics.

T. W. BEVAN.

ADOLF DEISSMANN: A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

WHEN I went to Berlin University in the autumn of 1908 I knew no one except by repute. Having heard Deissmann lecture at a summer school in Cambridge a year before, I ventured to write to him. No one could have been more courteous in reply to my letter. He even took the trouble to correct my letter in the gentlest manner for my use or misuse of German idiom. He invited me to his house, advised me most helpfully in the course of study I was pursuing, allowed me to attend his seminar, and treated me with considerate kindness the whole of the winter semester I was in Berlin. Dr. James Hope

Moulton had not long before described Deissmann as his 'greatest friend on earth', and when Deissmann discovered that I belonged to the same Church as Moulton, his kindliness to me became, if possible, warmer. He acknowledged a sincere admiration for many things English. Through his friendship with Moulton he knew more of England than many of his colleagues in Berlin, and rarely did he lecture without some reference to the opinions of English New Testament scholars; while with a modesty becoming a Christian scholar he never hesitated to give Moulton the precedence in the work in connexion with which their two names are indissolubly joined for all lovers of the Greek Testament.

Three men stand out in memory in the University of Berlin of those days. The great classical scholar Willamowitz-Moellendorff, a commanding figure in a large and crowded lecture-hall; Adolf von Harnack, at that time at the zenith of his fame, to hear whom men had travelled from all parts of the Western world; Adolf Deissmann, then in the prime of life. There was a great contrast between Harnack and Deissmann. Harnack was slighter in build, striking in appearance. Every lecture was an oration given without reference to a note in the rather harsh guttural German of the East Prussian. Deissmann with his jet black beard and his stately figure had a smaller audience. His deep rich voice and the softer accent of the Southern German seemed characteristic of the man. Twenty years later when I saw him in London, he seemed only a shadow of his former self; his beard was no longer thick nor black, and his voice had lost much of its richness. The War perhaps more than the years had made the difference.

One memory I shall always treasure. It was just before Christmas in 1908. Deissmann invited all the members of his seminar to a Christmas Festival in the library, where we met each week. Before the feast, while we sat at the tables, Deissmann preached, taking his text from the word *Kyrios* (Lord) scratched on a fragment of potsherd, which he afterwards allowed us to handle. Probably it belonged to the first Christian century, and the word 'Lord' referred to the Emperor Nero. During the feast Deissmann proposed a toast, which he had found written, he told us, on a fragment of papyrus from an Egyptian rubbish-heap—*Bibite amorem Sancti Iohannis*—Drink to the love of S. John. None of us dreamed how the fellowship of that evening would be shattered less than six years later!

After the estrangement of the Great War to Deissmann, more than to any other of the Christian scholars in Germany, was due the promotion of goodwill between the Churches of his country and of England and America, which was one of the most hopeful things in the years which immediately preceded the founding of the Third Reich. On his seventieth birthday many in this country joined in greeting him, not only as a great scholar, but as a Christian gentleman, whom it was a privilege to know.

F. B. CLOGG.

Ministers in Council

SUMMER STUDIES. I am indebted to Dr. R. Newton Flew for particulars of the arrangements for Biblical Study at Cambridge during the Summer Vacation Term. The main theme this year will be 'Christ and Humanism'. During the first week, July 31 to August 7, there will be two courses, each of four lectures. Course 1 on 'The Old Testament Doctrine of Man' will be in the hands of the Rev. H. Wheeler Robinson, D.D. (Principal of Regent's Park College, London, and Oxford). In the second Course, the Rev. F. N. Davey, M.A., of Cambridge, will lecture on the Gospel according to St. Luke. In the same week single lectures will be given. Canon Raven takes as his subject, 'Biblical Study: critical, theological and personal'; Professor H. G. Wood, of Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, is to lecture on 'The Bankruptcy of Modern Humanism' and the Rev. S. L. Greenslade, M.A., of Oxford, on 'Jerome'. In the second week, from August 7 to 14, Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson gives a course of lectures on 'The New Testament Doctrine of Man', and the Rev. V. A. Demant, B.Litt., B.Sc., is to be responsible for a course on 'Christianity and Society'. The single lectures in the second week include one on 'Miracle' by Dr. Tennant and another on 'The Sacramental Principle' by Canon Lilley. A conference is also planned for the second week on 'Recent Biblical, Theological and Philosophical Literature'. Greek Testament readings are to be available in both weeks and also Hebrew readings, the latter to be taken by Dr. Wheeler Robinson and Professor S. A. Cook. Lectures are to be given in Newnham College. Tickets admitting to all lectures will be 16s. a week. The charge for each Course of lectures will be 7s. 6d; for single lectures 2s. Applications can be sent to the Secretary of the Executive Committee, Miss E. C. Trinder, 18 St. Helen's Crescent, Hastings, from whom can also be obtained information as to accommodation, whether in the College or elsewhere.

The circular setting out the above programme states that the Vacation Term for Biblical Study offers to students of the Bible an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the results of modern Biblical scholarship. Whilst the scheme is on a Christian basis, lecturers are invited apart from the consideration of their special religious standpoint. A bibliography is appended on the four Courses. We note that Mr. Demant, who is himself the author of *Christian Polity and God, Man and Society* suggests on the general topic of 'Christianity and Society' the following: M. B. Reckitt, *A Christian Sociology for To-day*; A. J. Penty, *Towards a Christian Sociology*; R. H. Tribe, *The Christian Social Tradition*; C. E. Osborne, *Christian Ideas in Political History*; C. Dawson, *Religion and the Modern State*; W. Temple, *Christianity and the Modern State*; A. Fanfani, *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism*; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*; P. McDowell, *The Church and Economics*; R. Niebuhr, *An interpretation of*

Christian Ethics; J. Maritain, *Religion and Culture*; N. Berdyaev, *The End of Our Time*; and G. K. Chesterton, *The Outline of Sanity*.

It would be of interest to know of any similar Vacation or Refresher Courses held under other auspices than those mentioned above.

* * * * *

TOWN AND COUNTY METHODISM. Following on the reference in the last issue of this Quarterly to the renewed interest in the origins of local Methodism which the coming celebrations of the birth of Methodism are sure to arouse, the Rev. Joseph Williams, of Kirton Lindsey, kindly tells me of two books which may well be read alongside of Mr. George Slater's *Chronicles of Lives and Religion in Cheshire* mentioned by the Rev. A. H. Walker, B.A. They are *Early Methodism in and around Chester*, by F. F. Bretherton, B.A. (1903) and *Cheshire Traditions and History*, by T. A. Coward (Methuen, 1932). Mr. Williams is himself the author of an interesting booklet on *The History of Methodism at Pits o' th Moor, Bury, 1774-1924*. As a result of delving in ancient records, Mr. Williams unearthed a number of curious facts, of which one may stand as sample. The *Arminian Magazine* for 1793 narrates 'The Experience of Mr. James Hall', an early pioneer preacher, in these terms: 'I beg leave to mention one circumstance which occurred at Bury as a proof of the good done by Methodists keeping strictly to the Church. The minister (i.e. the local clergyman) was prevailed upon by the gentlemen of the town to read a violent sermon against the Methodist doctrine, as it was called, of Justification by Faith. Two of the Society waited upon him that evening and desired to speak with him on the occasion. He readily gave them permission and read over those parts of the sermon which they objected against. The dispute lasted some hours, but it pleased God to convince him of his error. The next Lord's Day to the astonishment of his hearers, he preached the very doctrine he had so warmly opposed, from Isaiah lv. 6, 7. His life was likewise changed as well as his doctrine, and the Preachers and people were now his constant companions.' An unexpected climax to this eighteenth-century story lies in the next sentence: 'He had the singers in the church removed, and all the Methodists that could sing well, and they were not a few, substituted in their place.'

* * * * *

A METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In response to the notes under the above heading in the January issue, I have received a very kindly letter from the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., of Sunderland, the able secretary of the Wesley Historical Society. He states that he finds himself in agreement with much that was said in the notes, and apparently the only point at issue would be as to the name by which a Society should now be known which seeks to garner and preserve the rich historical material from the great days of evangelistic pioneering in each and all of the sections of Methodism. As to the name, one may add that as shown by the prospectus of the W.H.S. similar societies in America are all named 'Methodist'. This too was the name which

Wesley adopted for his societies and in its use we should be honouring his own choice.

With respect, however, to the work of historical investigation it is a pleasure to record that the W.H.S. is committed to the statement that 'Everything relating to Methodism as it took root in various localities comes within its purview'. Mr. Bretherton informs me that an article on Kilham is to appear in the next number of the *Proceedings* of the W.H.S. from the pen of the Rev. H. Smith. As Mr. Bretherton was himself intending to be present at the May celebrations at Mow Cop, perhaps some account of that ceremony and its implications may also be anticipated. Possibly there might yet be added to the title of this worthy Society some such interpretative phrase as 'for the investigation of *Methodist* origins'.

* * * * *

OLD HARTLEIANS' CLUB, BIRMINGHAM. The Secretary of this Club, the Rev. L. Emerson, reports that the session for 1936-7 concluded on Friday May 14, and that it has been of the most helpful. The attendances have averaged sixteen. During the year, two members have died, the Revs. J. J. Hodson, M.A., and Amos Ryder. The mornings have been spent in studying J. G. McKenzie's *Souls in the Making*. In the afternoon of the April meeting the Rev. N. Upright, B.A., B.D., gave an interesting paper on 'Modern Tendencies in Religion'. Following an afternoon paper in May by the Rev. W. W. Lee on 'Communism: a Menace or Way out?' a lively discussion ensued. It was felt, however, on the whole, that whilst the classless State was the ideal, Communism as at present understood is tied too closely to the Marxist position and tends to be unbalanced in its view of human nature. Preparations have been made for the next session of this Birmingham circle to commence on September 17. The book selected for morning study is Mackintosh's *Christian Experience of Forgiveness*. The afternoon topics for discussion include 'The Church of To-morrow', 'The significance of Karl Barth', 'The implications of the Group Movement', 'The Eschatology of Jesus', 'John Galsworthy' and 'Results of Methodist Union'. The club, as usual, is having a summer outing when members and wives visit Llangollen and the Bala lakes.

* * * * *

THE NORTH WESTERN MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Rev. G. Harrison, the secretary of this Association, states that the fifth session was held in Birkenhead from April 6 to 8 last under the presidency of the Rev. J. T. Wilkinson, M.A., B.D. Though the general theme of 'Evangelism' was a well worn one, there was freshness in the treatment of each phase. The Association sermon was preached by the Rev. W. E. Burkitt on Mark xvi, 15. The Presidential address dealt with an analysis of the present situation and it was keenly felt that this utterance deserved wider publicity. On the Wednesday night the Rev. W. Savage, spoke on 'Evangelism and Social Reform' and the Rev. T. Hacking on 'Evangelism and Personal Life'. On Wednesday and Thursday essays were given on the 'Message of Evangelism' by

the Rev. H. G. Kelley, on 'Fellowship and Evangelism' by the Rev. W. F. Fleet, B.A., B.D., and on 'Evangelism through the Pastoral Office' by the Rev. W. W. Ayres. Each of these essays was followed by discussion which kept on a remarkably high level, and for this praise was due to the Rev. R. Ferguson, the Rev. R. G. Pittam and the Rev. J. Bishop, B.A., who opened the conversations after the reading of the essays.

The next session of the Association will be held in Ramsey, Isle of Man, from April 26 to 28, 1938. The essays will deal with Modern Tendencies in Biblical Criticism, Social Science and Literature. The evening addresses are to be on 'The Principles of Protestantism' and 'The Message of Methodism' in view of the celebrations due next year.

* * * * *

GRIMSBY STUDY CIRCLE. At the January meeting, the Rev. Ernest Smith spoke of Guidance in the Christian life as affected by Church regulations and by pastoral counsel. It was asked why it is rare for ministers to be approached for moral direction. The suggestion was made that if a preacher has been explicit in dealing with issues of personal ethics in his pulpit ministrations, he may have forestalled questions. At the April meeting, the Rev. H. Lee, dealing with the treatment of Spiritual Sickness, called attention to a valuable chapter in Grensted's *Psychology and God*. Apart from careful training, it was recognized that a minister might be a dangerous quack. At the May meeting the Rev. Jas. Bullock surveyed the teaching and practice of the Roman Church on Confession and the importance of Sharing in the Group Movement. It was felt that there was need for more vital contacts within the Methodist Church.

* * * * *

BOOKS COMMENDED: (2) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSION. Professor Sydney G. Dimond, M.A., of the Richmond College has very kindly given for these columns a list of books suitable for study on the above topic. Mr. Dimond's own publications in this sphere are gratefully acknowledged not only in Methodism but outside the range of our denomination. His *Psychology of the Methodist Revival* is a standard work. This has been followed by a briefer book on *The Psychology of Methodism* (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.). Mr. Dimond's annotated list will be found useful for Study Circles and for private reading:

The standard works on the Psychology of Religion by William James, E. D. Starbuck and J. B. Pratt will be well known. R. D. Thouless did a very good Introduction (Cambridge Press, 1923). On *Conversion*, A. C. Underwood is best. (Allen & Unwin, 1925.)

On the special subject I suggest E. S. Waterhouse: *The Psychology of the Christian Life* (Epworth Press, 1913) as a very useful primer.

T. F. Lockyer, *Religious Experience: Its Reality* (Epworth Press, 1913): a valuable study of the philosophical aspects of the topic.

W. L. Northridge, *Recent Psychology and Evangelistic Preaching* (Epworth Press, 1924). A sane and balanced estimate of psycho-analysis as related to the work of an evangelist.

J. S. Haldane, *The Philosophy of a Biologist* (Oxford, 1935). Chapters iii. and iv. will be of value to the student of the Philosophy of Religion.

To the above List Mr. Dimond has been good enough to add some comments on the list of books given at the end of the article on 'Conversion' in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* :

'I should not recommend Leuba: he is practically atheistic. James' *Varieties* is a classic. Hall's *Adolescence* (two vols. 1904) is also but it is too encyclopædic. J. B. Pratt is good but his later volume, *The Religious Consciousness*, is better and is about the best single volume on the whole field.'

On Revivals and Revivalists, Mr. Dimond states:

'The best survey of the Welsh Revival is in French—*Un Mouvement Mystique Contemporain*, by J. Rogues de Fursac (Paris, Alcan, 1907). This is well informed and sympathetic.' He adds a reference to Jonathan Edwards: *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England*.

From the standpoint of Pastoral Theology, Mr. Dimond draws attention to a book published by Abingdon Press, New York (1931), entitled *The Healing of Souls*, written by Mellyar Hamilton Lichliter, who is minister of the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Dimond vouches that this is a practical work and that the Americanisms do not spoil it.

* * * * *

I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

W. E. FARNDALE.

10 Mainwaring Road,
Lincoln.

The Congregational Quarterly (April).—A stimulating number. Articles of special interest are Professor C. J. Wright's 'Is God at work To-day', Rev. H. E. Berry's 'Concerning the Paid Ministry', Dr. Bertram Lee Woolf's 'Modern Criticism and the Historical Jesus' and Dr. John McNeil's 'Christianity and Supernationalism'. Rev. Lewis Johnson contributes an illuminating study on 'The Structural Unit of New Testament Writings'. Lay Preaching, Liturgies *versus* 'Free Prayer' and Young People and Church Membership are discussed under 'Developments and Experiments'. Not the least attractive feature is the 'Shorter Notices and Descriptive List'.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Doctrine of the Work of Christ. By Sydney Cave, D.D.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

THIS book is a history of the Doctrine of the Atonement from the time of the New Testament till to-day. It is fifteen years or more since the last of the better-known books on this particular subject was written. There was need for a new book about it for two reasons. The older books, of course, could not take account either of the most recent work on the New Testament, or of the writings of Barth and Brunner. Further, Aulen's re-statement of the doctrine that was current in the Ancient Church for many centuries demanded attention. Readers of Dr. Cave's books on other subjects would expect him to write just such a clear, concise and adequate account as this one. It maintains the high standard of the other volumes in 'The London Theological Library'. One can hardly imagine the astonishment and indignation of some of the founders of the London University if they had been told that a hundred years after its foundation a Methodist Professor would edit a series of theological works on its behalf. They would have thought a history of the doctrine of the Work of Christ a useless piece of theological antiquarianism. Once again theology at length takes its revenge. Dr. Cave's first two chapters deal with the teaching of the New Testament. Some might object that there ought to be an introductory chapter on the Old Testament preparation, and there is room for a fresh book on this topic, yet something has to be omitted in a comparatively short volume, and every writer must choose what he will omit. Of other omissions two are principal. Very little is said of the teaching of the Scotist school in the Medieval period, and almost nothing of any but the few great writers in any period. Much can be said to justify both omissions. The Scotist type of teaching despairs of explanation, and, in spite of Barth, this will not do. A *complete* explanation of any doctrine about God is indeed impossible, yet even here the validity of reason cannot be merely denied. Again, in the history of this subject the few great writers sufficiently exhibit the movement of thought. Even when Dr. Cave comes to deal with the Modern Period he confines himself to a small number of books and few will quarrel much with his selection either of German or British writers. Of the latter, for instance, he picks out McCleod Campbell, Bushnell, Dale and Moberly. Dr. Lidgett's book might well have been added. (In passing, one reader of Moberly may perhaps say that he doesn't share Dr. Cave's admiration for that writer's style.) To return to the New Testament, Dr. Cave avoids the old error of isolating his subject overmuch. In particular, he shows that the whole doctrine

of the Christ—of His Person and His work—goes together. To divide the two may be permissible for purposes of study, but it is not the less artificial. What Christ is and what Christ does are ultimately one and the same thing. This means, in particular, that under the Synoptic Gospels a writer must take one position or another on the two much-debated topics of the meaning of the phrases 'The Kingdom of God' and 'the Son of Man'. In the space available, of course, Dr. Cave could not fully discuss these two topics, but it seems to me that he has chosen the right exposition in both cases. As he shows, both have an intimate connexion with the doctrine of the work of Christ, often though this has been forgotten in the succeeding centuries.

The last chapter is entitled 'An Approach to the Doctrine of the Work of Christ'. Here Dr. Cave does not so much integrate his own doctrine as point out what concepts, in his conviction, must be included in any new statement. In doing this he proceeds chiefly by selecting the elements of value in earlier theories. Here some modernists might well 'take a leaf out of his book', for there is no theory, on any great subject, that has held sway for centuries in the Church and is altogether wrong. Unadulterated error does not capture the minds of generations of Christian men. One cannot help adding something else. Only a scholar and a believer could have written this book. Dr. Waterhouse, who is the editor of this series of volumes, has once again happily secured a writer who loves his subject.

C. RYDER SMITH.

The Pauline Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews in their Historical Setting. By F. J. Badcock, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.)

ALL students of the New Testament are soon made aware of the intricate character of the problems presented by the Pauline Epistles. Questions of authenticity, chronology, and interpretation constantly arise. It is not the least service rendered by Dr. Badcock's book that it tests very thoroughly the reader's knowledge of the various data and compels him by its challenging surmises to marshal and assess the evidence afresh. It must be said at once that this study is provocative. This will be apparent if we state summarily a few of the author's findings. The author's view is that the Pauline correspondence begins with Galatians and ends with Ephesians. Paul's conversion is dated A.D. 36. 2 Thessalonians is dated earlier than 1 Thessalonians by some months. Five letters were written to the Corinthians; the first of these ('the previous letter') has been lost, the fifth is the first half of our 2 Corinthians. St. Paul suffered one imprisonment at Ephesus, and it was from Ephesus that Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon were written. It is somewhat strange that G. S. Duncan's work, though plainly in view, is not mentioned at this point. Dr. Badcock makes a careful linguistic analysis of the Pastoral Epistles, and gives no countenance to Dr. P. N. Harrison's view that the language does not belong to the Apostolic period. Here he makes

some play with the medical or semi-medical flavour of certain expressions in the Pastoral Epistles. In the light of H. J. Cadbury's investigation of the supposed medical terms in St. Luke's writings, this seems a rather precarious plank on which to stand. The difficulty of fitting the Pastorals into any known period of the Apostle's life Dr. Badcock meets, in part, by his view that they need not be taken together in regard to date. 1 Timothy was written from Philippi in A.D. 57; 2 Timothy during the Caesarean imprisonment. There is offered an ingenious and elaborate attempt to explain the words 'in Rome' (2 Tim. i. 17) as a textual corruption. This essay in textual reconstruction by which the place-name Antioch is educed in place of Rome seems to us entirely unconvincing. The Pastorals, it is urged, are at least substantially Pauline. 'The hand is the hand of an editor, or a redactor, but the voice is the voice of Paul and of no other.' The rendering 'his brother' in 2 Corinthians viii. 18 is accepted, and also the identification with St. Luke. Dr. Badcock comes down on the side of the Pauline authorship of Ephesians; it is Paul's last will and testament. Importance is attached to the phrase 'the middle wall of partition' as indicative of the date of the letter. Two imprisonments at Rome are posited, between which St. Paul visited Spain. Some interesting points in the treatment of Acts emerge. It is largely an *apologia* in St. Paul's defence, and is to be dated very early, A.D. 62. Dr. Badcock reads four clauses in the Council Decree (Acts xv. 20, 29; xxi. 25), but rejects the Bezan addition of the negative Golden Rule in Acts xv. 20. The Epistle to the Hebrews is ascribed chiefly to Barnabas, but Paul adds a postscript. The Epistle dates prior to the Fall of Jerusalem, and is addressed to Hellenist Christians at Jerusalem. This redating and extension of the Pauline correspondence is sufficiently drastic. The theological student, for whom the book is primarily intended, must read with much caution. He will profit by the exercise, but only if he constantly remembers that this reconstruction of the Pauline corpus is novel and unproved. Each chapter is prefaced by a useful synopsis, and careful indexes and a map of the Pauline world will be serviceable.

H. G. MEECHAM.

Religion and Reality. By M. Charring-Pearce. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

THIS book is a new line in Christian apologetic. The argument of the volume is a defence of what the writer calls the existential judgement and an illustration of the defects of the logical judgement as the key to reality. While the arguments are well bolstered with admirable quotations and facts the influence of Bergson and the pragmatists is too dominant. If Christian values are to be apprehended by the existential judgement, which is the judgement of the whole man, does not the logical judgement become an inclusive part in such a judgement if not the most important part? I cannot agree with those who decry reason by the exercise of it. Admittedly the science of Biblical Criticism cannot bring us into the warmth of loving fellow-

ship with Jesus Christ, nor altogether prove to the historian's satisfaction the facts and detail concerning the historical existence of Jesus. This is all seen in the increasing scepticism induced by the Form Criticism school. That is, the scientific intellect cannot of itself bring man near to 'the centre from which burns the eternal religion of love'. At the same time it is an unusual dualism to affirm that the scientific and existential judgements are in opposition and that one must accept the latter. A healthy dose of Aquinas would have kept the writer from the grave danger of dualism. There are some strange remarks about the fair sex which will be much resented by many folk. 'For woman, qua woman, is the most terrible and invincible vice-reine of the powers of darkness.' May be, but she is sometimes a star. The whole volume is well written but the argument will not convince many people; the grave mistake of excluding the logical from the existential judgement will be to many unacceptable. We wish the book a good sale not for the problems it solves but for the questions it raises.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

The Divine Concern: An Outline of Christian Mystical Philosophy. By Lilian Guise. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d.)

The value of this book is out of all proportion to its size and price. When an author commences by exploring the stupendous fact of Being, not content to take for granted that we *are*, we may get ready to launch out into the deep. Having made the discovery that all Being, or existence, is One, though it appears as 'Many' by thoughts and things everywhere, the author's next perception is that Being never goes away. How can it? when there is nowhere for it to go where it is not already? In this sense Being is eternal. The 'eternity' of Being does not mean that it 'goes on and on' for ever. Existence neither goes nor comes, it stands. Existence is the eternal present. You cannot compare existence with anything else. But this book is an attempt to grasp some features of this 'absolute' Existence. Not that it can be fully apprehended, for it transcends all comprehension. That is the realm into which the author then conducts her party of travellers, and certainly she is a most capable guide. Some may feel at times that the Temple in which she is so much at home is in some degrees a Temple of her own imaginings—but all will agree that they are all reverent and beautiful imaginings. Here are some of her discoveries. Although in the first chapter she suggests that Existence is 'standing', this standing is not stagnation. It is that of someone who, standing apparently still before us, is nevertheless alive and moving within himself. Existence is full of Life or Movement, which arises in it, courses through it, turning and returning in its course again. Just as the sea, invariably standing or lying where it is, has constant life in it. Life is a constant 'Going on' within Existence. This 'Going on' is dependent upon the division of Existence into two spheres, Spirit and Matter. If all were Spirit

there would be no activity. And so we accept the everlasting presence of the spiritual and material spheres together. But the Spirit-sphere of the Mind is the greater, for Existence consists principally of it, as a Whole. All life originates in Spirit and for the sake of Spirit the presence of Matter is required. There is none of Mrs. Eddy's denial of Matter in the philosophy of our author. Spirit needs Matter and Matter derives from Spirit. But Matter is the lesser sphere, and it seems to emerge out of Spirit for its use. Matter is the passive substance upon which the active Life of Spirit is spent. And yet while Matter is the medium of Spirit the author claims that they are a Unity. The fact of Unity reigns paramount in Existence. Matter in any form is One with all material substance, for everything is joined to everything else by some Matter or other. And all Spirit is One everywhere, because there is nowhere where it is not. The greatest and most sublime Fact in Existence, is the fact of the Self there. And thus we enter the Holy of Holies, for the Self in Existence; the Self which belongs to All-Being, and to which All-Being belongs; the great I AM is God. God's own Life from Himself is the movement ever proceeding in Existence. We know Him by means of the Matter which emerges from His Spirit. God is the absolutely intense Consciousness in the whole transcendent Spirit. Thus God is the central Personage in Existence, since all Spirit is centred in Himself there, and because that Self is His. God is the 'Self' from whom all 'selves' proceed; and He is the Source of all Personality. Thus we reach the conclusion that Existence is constituted by the Mind of God and the Matter of His universe. God expresses Himself in Matter. And yet God in His 'Self' remains apart from His universe. Our author is no Pantheist, imprisoning God in His Universe and identifying Him with all life. For when the life of God enters the material sphere from the spiritual, it at once becomes subject to limitations. But God's very Self is changeless and essentially Spiritual. But God's Life, when it becomes 'unspiritualized' by being clothed with material forms, has to accept the condition of change. The Self of God is not involved in the matter of His Universe. Therefore we must have a God transcendent as well as God immanent. It therefore becomes an indispensable premise of such a philosophy as the author's to distinguish between the life of God and the Self of God. It follows that there must be a distinction between our 'Self' in its spiritual relation to God and our earthly life. Space and Time do not measure either the Self of God or even our 'selves'. Our Spiritual Existence partakes of Infinity and Eternity. Thus the shadows of earth become fleeting things and the eternal verities appear as the things that really matter. Creation is the finished and yet never entirely finished Experience of God, and in this experience we can share. The Christian Scientist would regard this book as the rankest of heresy: for the author avers that it is God Himself, in Spirit apart, who requires Matter in and of His Being, in order that it may manifest His activity and that through it He may live His Life; otherwise Matter would not be, as it un-

doubtedly *is*. Thus Matter is 'kept' in Existence for the use of Spirit. In a very interesting chapter on 'Knowledge' the author describes the 'where' and 'how' of this. She also deals with Divine Consciousness on the basis of 'God imparts of all that He has to whatever is able to receive it'. His initial gift is His Being to those who are worthy. Thus comes the gift of perfect certainty. The way to peace is the becoming so aware of the infallibility of God that one cannot doubt the worth of things. Such gifts of certainty, rest and peace are beyond human description. At the end of the quest is an intense awareness of God—a sudden rapturous union with Himself. God utters Himself in this world through His Word—even through the Person of Jesus Christ. And so that this personal Word of God may be understood by the simplest among us He calls it His Own Son. Thus we are led to a recognition of Jesus, as God Himself present in Person. Thus the Divine Personage is revealed and we are shown *what that is*. A recognition of the truth of the Trinity follows. God is, and ever will be, Three in His Personage: One God in Three Persons, and Three Persons in One God. We need but add that this leads to a very helpful and illuminating revelation of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, and a key to the meaning of Atonement which will be to many the most valuable discovery in the book. In the last chapter we are more than ever convinced that the author is a pilgrim who has tasted the hidden manna, and who is no stranger to the mysteries of Divine Grace.

PERCY S. CARDEN.

Our Need for God. By The Rt. Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, D.D., Bishop of Bradford. (Rich & Cowan, Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

THE Rt. Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, D.D., has written a book which is described by the publishers as 'the Bishop of Bradford's stirring Recall to Religion'. The book is one of a series in which representative names are to be found among the list of authors. This volume is both scholarly and practical, facing the real problems of living as well as belief. It appeals to all, and at the outset to the youth of our day. Dr. Blunt apostrophizes 'Jack and Jill' with great good-humour. Theirs is an eager, stumbling quest for the water of life, and a stiff climb these days. In our modern social and economic confusion they have precarious foothold: 'Let us eat and drink and go hiking or motoring on Sundays, for to-morrow the whole apple-cart may be upset.' The issue is frankly faced, and we move to firmer ground among the verities. Among the writer's more constructive chapters are such headings as, 'God explains Life', 'God enlarges Life', 'God directs Life', and 'God fortifies Life'. It is good to sense the ardour of it all as one reads. The book abounds in good sense under all the vital headings of Theology, and the pages scintillate with epigrams of great force and point. We move with the author right out from the insecurities of this present life to the life which is life indeed. 'The glory of going on and still to be,' expounded as the progressive experience briefly delineated by this writer, by the

way, is ill served by reference to that bleak old expression, 'the intermediate state'. It is difficult to imagine a more virile and useful treatment of Christian belief within such modest compass. It is a mental and spiritual tonic for which we are grateful, and we heartily recommend it both to those who are far off and those who are nigh.

R. SCOTT FRAYN.

The Testament of a Wayfarer. By George Norville. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d.)

THIS book has several commendable qualities. It is sincere and unpretentious. It avoids technical jargon. Its style is easy and flowing. Moreover the author is obviously well-equipped. He ranges over a wide field, but there is always the suggestion of knowledge in reserve. Nevertheless the book is disappointing. It is much too discursive. The very extent of the ground covered is its own undoing. Had Mr. Norville discussed fewer subjects but with greater thoroughness he would have produced a better book. The book is by a theologically-minded layman. The author found professional theologians and orthodox writers radically unsatisfying. The light in them was, on the whole, little more than darkness. The central luminous certainties (or certainty) of religion they obscured rather than clarified. They tended to be interested in the secondary rather than in the primary convictions of faith. For religion the one thing that matters is that 'God is Love'. Everything else is either derivative or marginal. That 'certainty' is utterly central, and in the light of it a man can live and dwell at peace. It is a certainty established by both reason and experience. It is the core of every real prophet's message. So far so good. But Mr. Norville goes beyond that. Most of his book is taken up with the discussion of matters which in his view are really peripheral. It is impossible here to follow him down every path he treads. One cannot really expect adequate treatment of N.T. criticism, the Resurrection, the Atonement, the Nature of Religion, and Immortality in 149 pages. The crux is the author's view of Jesus. He speaks reverently of Jesus, almost extravagantly. For example: 'Jesus had in Himself the compelling force of a great and *perfect* personality'; (*italics mine*) 'the force in Him was divine: "God was in Christ"'. But though Jesus was unique He was so only as Shakespeare, Socrates or Napoleon is unique. In the last analysis Jesus differs from the rest of us only in degree. To the present writer that position is not even a good half-way house. It may quite freely be conceded that the Gospels at best are but fragmentary accounts of a great life—that in them reminiscence and reflection here and there inextricably intertwine—that on occasion they reveal the mind of subsequent generations as plainly as they purvey the actual words or mind of Jesus. So much even conservative theologians must concede. But Denney's shrewd word still remains—grant that the Gospels were written to state a case, the case is made out in simply telling the story! There is—as it seems to me, a whole continent of difference between immanence and incarnation. Immanence implies no more

than ethical unity or harmony. Incarnation implies metaphysical identity. The refusal to accept the whole logic of that concept I regard as the fatal defect of every unsatisfying Christology. It is there I regard this book as failing. Failing there it is not to be supposed that such doctrines as the Resurrection, for example, will be more than in effect explained away. That is what actually happens here. What to most are historical 'facts' are so 'spiritualized' as in reality to lose all real contact with history. With the profoundest sympathy with Mr. Norville's aim, and the very honest way he pursues it, I find myself still completely dissenting from conclusions that seem to him inevitable. Concern for orthodoxy has nothing to do with it. Concern for history and fact and exact thought are the coercives.

J. E. STOREY.

We Beheld His Glory. By Nicholas Arseniev. (S.P.C.K. 5s.)

THIS book has the interest of being rather unusual in several particulars. It is photographically reproduced from the American edition, it being a translation from the German, and the author is a Russian: Dr. Arseniev being a professor of Orthodox Theology in Warsaw, and a lecturer in Russian culture in Königsberg in Prussia. It has the further interest of being a passionate appeal for Church unity, for the book is dedicated 'to the movement towards the union of the Church of Christ'. There is a most fervent introduction by the American, Dr. Leiper, in which the author is hailed as a 'prophet of the richer fellowship that is to be when Christians are content to set aside their intellectual pride and become great enough to overcome the inertia of their own ecclesiastical environment in order that Christ may be all in all and that His Church may be one with Him as He is one with the Father'. In many paragraphs of the volume the language is a molten stream of ecstatic phrases that are almost beyond any real meaning, but which are manifestly an endeavour to express the Johannine vision of 'we beheld His glory'. It is a remarkable book from one who has seen his own Church almost destroyed before his eyes, and with a suffering beyond the imagination of the West; and yet has retained a conviction of the 'all-transfiguring victory' of the Church that is to be. Dr. Arseniev is well known among the leaders of Protestantism in Europe and America. He was present at High Leigh at the Continuing Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order. This volume cannot be read without deep appreciation of the passionate devotion and deep conviction manifest on every page. But it is questionable whether the book will fulfil to any extent its purpose. The ordinary Evangelical will be lost in its expressions and figures, and the high sacramentarianism everywhere present will curb the appeal its spirit of devotion would be likely to make. The vision of the Eastern Church is everywhere present, as must needs be, coming from one reared in that environment, and one with convictions so deeply rooted. The Church to him is something much more than the priesthood of believers.

And what it is is bound up in high sacramentarianism. When it is declared that the Church is 'a living community of brethren bound most closely together by love, in the entire manifoldness of their gifts and of their calling' there is deep understanding and agreement. But there is so much more, in the writer's conviction, bound up with the nature of the Church as delivered to the Orthodox Church of the East. The book opens with an explanation of the realism of early Christianity, and then a survey of modern trends in religion, with special emphasis on post-war religion in Germany, including a long examination and appraisal of Barthian theology. There is some consideration of the Church and Sacraments in Protestant theology. The 'Vision of Glory' in the Eastern Orthodox Church; the incarnation— theology in modern Anglicanism; tendencies in the modern Roman Church, and finally a view of the Ecumenical Movement. Not a book for a big fire and carpet slippers, but worth while making a considerable effort to glean truth from a great section of the teaching of the Church Catholic.

W.G.T.B.

This Generation and Its Spiritual Needs. By L. J. Baggott.
(S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

THE author is Vicar of Beverley Minster. He affirms that the heart of the modern problem is the presentation of the Christian Faith to this generation, and the leadership that is required is that of the *competent theologian*. While he does not claim to be a competent theologian, we are entitled to ask of one who lays down such a condition if he reaches his own standard requisite for leadership. No attempt is made to recapitulate all the evils of this generation, the greater part of the book being better utilized to present a thoughtful statement of the contents and meaning of the Faith. However, the chief characteristics of our time are grouped as follows: (1) The disunity of mankind; (2) The spirit of secularity; (3) The rapid spread of scientific knowledge and education; (4) The revolt of Youth. In view of these characteristics, a theologian could be expected to say that 'Conversion is the first need of our time'. His competency becomes obvious by the qualification that conversion involves the achievement of that ideal spiritual condition which the personality of God's Fatherhood revealed as a human possibility. The achievement is gained only by making the Fatherhood of God operative in our life. The otherwise insoluble problem of the reconstruction of personal character and of society finds its key in the experience and exercise of God's Fatherhood. The chapter on 'The Revelation of God as Father' is as fine a piece of concise writing on the subject as we have seen for many a day. Christ's place in the scheme is that He is a Revealer of the Fatherhood, and much more. He has the power of communicating the Divine Life to man. When man is in conscious relation with God he discovers the secret of all values both material and spiritual. 'If God be set over all, all else will be where it ought to be, claiming and receiving whatever of man's energies it is entitled

to share.' The author's expressed hope that his book will lead to a deeper understanding of religion and the achievement of that life which is the purposed will of God for man, ought to be amply realized.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

Scientific Monism, A Plain Man's Philosophy. By A. E. Maddock. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 5s.)

THE writer of *Scientific Monism* has taken the unique course of postulating the reality of both Mind and Matter, but accrediting them with such interdependent relations that they appear as a perfect unity. He thus evolves a philosophy that escapes the peculiar difficulties of both Idealistic and Materialistic Monism, and, at the same time avoids the distinctive hypothesis of a purely Dualistic philosophy. His intriguing hypothesis conceives of the nature of existence as being neither completely physical nor completely mental, but is one where the ultimate principles of Mind and Matter are intrinsically united. The Psycho-Physical process set up by this unity he identifies with evolution, and interprets it as a process of differentiation between the two principles of Mind and Matter. Its operations appear to be directed towards a definite end, which is the emergence of Mind with all its spiritual values. On the Ethical side he tries to show how the Psycho-Physical hypothesis gives a far finer and more worthy interpretation of existence than the drear and despairing conclusions of modern science. The Ethical development appears as an *intuitive* awareness of Right and Duty, resulting in the supreme ethical concept of Justice. Scientific Monism knows nothing of an Absolute Good, independent of man's consciousness, which may be responsible for the ethical development. Likewise, moral conduct is built upon a foundation of moral *instinct* or *intuition*, which the writer identifies with Conscience, and whose authority is derived from its origin in Reality. The book is a dignified attempt to discover a sane philosophy of existence that gives a reasonable explanation of the facts of experience, but avoiding the manifest difficulties of other dominant philosophies.

T. HERBERT BARLOW.

We Would Know Jesus. By John A. Scott. (Abingdon Press. 1 dollar 50 cents.)

DR. JOHN A. SCOTT has written a study of Christian origins from the viewpoint of a Greek scholar, and uses the words of the Greeks to Philip as the title of his book. The author shows how the Gospels were created and preserved, despite the fact that the writers of the New Testament were more concerned about our Lord's return than they were to preserve the actual words He said. But the eye witnesses were passing and the need for an authoritative statement was clear. A generation later, the written Evangel was essentially based on the words of Jesus. The Gospel according to St. Mark was the first account and was followed by those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, who wrote for specific folk, and finally by that of St. John, which

was written to combat an early heresy. The undated Gospels and Epistles contain the timeless message and have been miraculously preserved. The story is told of subsequent writers, writings and discoveries up to the present time. Dr. Scott is convinced that no single discovery has ever confirmed the conclusions of destructive criticism in Biblical literature. The second chapter of this book is a reconstruction of the life of St. Luke. The reading of the evidence is fascinating. For instance, the fact that Luke was a musician is deduced from the inclusion of the five hymns with which his Gospel opens. Similarly Dr. Scott shows that Luke was an artist and a linguist of no mean order. This chapter is full of interest to the student. The author concludes a remarkable book with a contrast of the records of Socrates and Jesus.

J.H.M.

Our Faith in God. By W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's.
(S.C.M.P. 2s. 6d.)

THIS is one of the little books published in the Diocesan Series which aims at expounding the central affirmations of Christianity in a simple and readable way. If the later books maintain the high standard set by Dr. Matthews, students should have their minds enlarged and inspired. Dr. Matthews possesses the power of presenting the Christian faith to both learned and unlearned, and in this volume he has succeeded in compressing much knowledge which should afford welcome guidance on the main doctrines of the Christian faith. Readers with little theological background will not, however, find it easy to follow the chapters dealing with the 'Trinity and human thought', and 'The Love of God and evil'. Difficult as these subjects are, few writers are better able to present a clearer and helpful discussion of them.

ARTHUR R. SLATER.

The Substance of the Christian Faith. By Emeritus Professor
R. G. Macintyre, D.D. (Australian Book Co. 3s. 6d.)

QUITE a number of books are being published with a similar title to this. The S.C.M. have just published *Our Faith in God*, by Dean Matthews, and Dean Alington's book, *An Outline of Christianity*, is of a similar character. The aim of all these volumes is to present simply and in outline the main tenets of the Christian religion. The difficulty of so doing is quite clear by observing what these volumes omit rather than what they say. When one has only room for three pages on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as Professor Macintyre has in this volume, a doctrine which despite its difficulties is probably the chief doctrine of the Christian Faith, one is afraid that the plain man will not get much help. These volumes, however, are an anatomy of Christian doctrine and on the whole the bony structure can be discerned by the average person. This book of Dr. Macintyre's, however, is very well written. It is a pleasure to read because it possesses apt illustration and is well planned. The chapter on the

Holy Spirit is most useful. I can commend this volume to those especially interested in the training of young people in the facts and principles of the Christian Faith.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

Living Religion. By Hornell Hart, Ph.D. (Abingdon Press. 1 dollar 50 cents.)

THE Abingdon Press has published a manual by Dr. Hart which aims at putting Religion into Action in Personal Life and in Social Reconstruction. Dr. Hart is a teacher in Social Economy. He seeks for wisdom to revive and enrich the common life, for power to transform personality and thus to build a better world. He records the achievements of transformed lives and reveals the need for the power and light which Christianity provides. Dr. Hart believes in evident works as well as simple faith, and because he writes primarily for those inside the Church, his emphasis is good. In his consideration of the individual life he writes of spiritual reality and outlines a vital method of prayer which is followed by group meditation. Subsequently he studies Capitalism, Sex, Peace, Pain, Social Problems, Mental Activity, Communal Effort, God Consciousness and the Church. On each subject he offers an opinion, reveals a line of service, and shows a way of meditation. The method is as interesting as it is valuable. To those within the Church we commend this book for patient continuous study and are sure that when this is done, the reader will have entered upon the abundant life the author reveals.

Christ and Prayer. By C. F. Andrews. (S.C.M.P. 3s. 6d. & 2s. 6d.)

'TO-DAY, more than ever before, we need to come back into the silence of Christ's presence and learn from Him with great humility and penitence how to pray.' Though Mr. Andrews states that he writes more as a learner than as a teacher, there are few who know the writer's work and character who will not be ready to sit at his feet to learn what he has to tell us of the secret of prayer. In a life full of activity and responsibility he has proved not only the necessity of prayer but has shown its value in the many crises of his life, when he has been deeply conscious of his own weakness. The book is based on a careful and reverent study of Christ's own practice of prayer, and it is impossible to find any better example of its use and effect. Many will also be grateful for the concluding notes in which Mr. Andrews sketches the plan which he himself has found helpful in the cultivation of the art of prayer.

A.R.S.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Story of Dictatorship, From the Earliest Time Till To-day.

By E. E. Kellett, M.A. (University Extension Series.)
(Ivor Nicholson & Watson, Ltd. 4s. 6d.)

OUR Methodist littérateur is not only omniscient but ubiquitous. Open any number of the *London Mercury*, the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, the *British Review*, the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator* and even the *News Chronicle*; you will be sure to find Mr. Kellett's name turning up. The range and precision of his literary scholarship are astonishing. Generally speaking, his essays and studies are bookish. Last year, however, he diverged into autobiography, and produced a delightful bundle of reminiscences, *As I Remember*. His latest appearance in the 'University Extension Series' is as political historian and philosopher. Like other men of letters he has felt impelled to play his part in the urgent practical affairs of the day. The subject of his book is certainly timely. His survey of dictators begins with Abimelech in the Old Testament and ends with Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler. (One wonders that so keen a student of the Bible made no allusion to a still earlier dictator. In Genesis x. 8 (Moffatt) we read, 'Ethiopia produced Nimrod, the first man on earth to be a despot'. The Hebrew *Gibbôr* was precisely a man whose personal prowess and energy enabled him to wield tyrannical power.) Mr. Kellett protests against the use of the word 'dictator' to describe such men as Mussolini and Hitler. 'The Roman "dictator" was a constitutional officer, legally appointed, to meet a special emergency, and for six months only.' Modern dictators have seized power, and intend to keep it permanently. The true counterpart of such men would be the Greek *τύραννος* or 'tyrant'. It is a legitimate verbal point, but perhaps not very important. The author's political principles are not concealed. Hampden duly makes his appearance as a noble resister of the oppression of a degenerate monarchy. Mr. Kellett is a little embarrassed by Cromwell. However, he makes out the best case possible for our English dictator, 'who in my opinion took power reluctantly and under the conviction that he was sent by God to bring order to a distracted country'. If Herr Hitler should read Mr. Kellett's book, he will be grateful for this definition and condonation, recognizing in it a faithful portrait of himself! The book clearly shows that dictatorship (or tyranny) is no new phenomenon, but on the contrary, a very long-standing one. 'There are traces of such things', says Mr. Kellett, 'in China millenniums ago, and we see the same processes in China to-day.' Mr. Kellett must beware of proving too much. If dictatorship is so ancient, so deep-rooted, and so prevalent to-day, is it not likely that it has some genuine justification? The fact is, our author is more a moralist and a book-worm than a politician. Needless to say, the present reviewer is no chartered apologist of tyranny, but he is conscious of the danger

of taking too liberal and optimistic a view of human nature and of the problem of government. Systems that have long existed, that exist to-day and continually recur in history, have a deeper *raison d'être* than literary liberals care to admit. Christianity, with its realistic doctrine of original sin and its tragic doctrine of sacrificial redemption, is nearer to the stark facts than some modern theories of 'liberty' and 'progress'. Humanists from Erasmus to Mr. Kellett are prone to ignore the savagery and selfishness of human nature. They tell us how men ought to act, and how men like to think. Machiavelli shows how in fact men have acted. And when Machiavelli is dismissed as out of date, he may be depended upon to take a sinister revenge. In his famous article on the Florentine secretary, Lord Acton admits that 'Machiavelli is not a vanishing type, but a constant and contemporary influence; he is more rationally intelligible when illustrated by lights falling not only from the century he wrote in, but from our own, which has seen the course of its history twenty-five times diverted by actual or attempted crime'. What would have been Lord Acton's comment on post-war Europe! Whether we like it or not, Machiavelli is nearer to the truth than Rousseau. Mr. Lloyd George's candid tribute to the value of Hitler's work was disconcerting to Nonconformist Liberals, but it is supported by German Methodist ministers, who though they condemn some parts of Nazi policy, are profoundly convinced that Hitler saved Germany from anarchy and collapse. Does not Mr. Kellett underestimate, both in Italy and Germany, the gravity of the crisis which Mussolini and Hitler had to meet? The scavenging was drastic; but the previous mess was terrible. In these days when the unparalleled atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks are discreetly huddled out of sight, it is good to find Mr. Kellett telling the truth about the Russian dictator. 'Lenin had absorbed with terrifying conviction the doctrine of the class war. Bloodshed was nothing to him; the slaughter of hundreds of thousands, so long as they were bourgeois, never cost him a moment's loss of sleep.' It is salutary to be thus reminded (for the Russian façade receives a certain admiration even in this country) that the foundations of the edifice were drenched with blood. One is glad, too, to observe that the author appreciates what may be called the doctrine of historical relativity. Prophets may deal with absolute ideals. Politicians are concerned with expediency; that is with the prudent application of these absolute ideals in actual historical circumstances. Theories, impeccable on paper, if applied at the wrong time and in the wrong place, do more harm than good. 'We must not press too far John Stuart Mill's assertion that the ideally best polity is representative government. There are countries and times not fit for it.' This is in fact exactly what dictators have claimed. Mr. Kellett gives a number of instances of the untimely and disastrous application of democratic theories. Idealists in a hurry might reflect that the tragedy of Spain has been precipitated by just such a premature establishment of a democratic system. Mr. Kellett is uncomfortably aware that the Achilles heel of democracy is the tendency

of its votaries to stress their rights and forget their duties. He insists that the *duties* are even more worth retaining than the rights. Austere, perhaps, but wholesome doctrine. Mr. Baldwin has proclaimed, in season and out, that while democracy may be, or is, the highest system of State organization, it is also the hardest, and makes the severest demands upon its members. We in Great Britain have inherited a fairly stable political order. We are liable to take that order for granted, and to take liberties with it—in the name of liberty. Yet our system is not an effect of Nature; it has been won. What is won may be lost. The things we take as rights are really privileges—peculiar to ourselves and not possessed by others. It has been said that everything that *moves* is Greek; everything that *stands* is Roman. Our Constitution is a wonderful blend of the conservative and the experimental. When the Roman element is excessive, there results rigidity or even repression. When the Greek element is unchecked, chaos and dissolution follow. No nation whether ancient or modern has so nicely combined common sense and speculation, tradition and novelty, law and liberty, as ourselves. The living harmony of these seemingly contradictory impulses is seen in our Party System. It is a compromise, and therefore annoying to logicians and extremists. It is a rather precarious contrivance by means of which conflicting interests and opinions may fight each other without bloodshed. Such a system demands for its continuance two things. (1) fundamental national unity, and (2) the spirit of justice or sportsmanship. The two parties must not differ in essence, though they may, and should, in emphasis. A party that is set upon 'fundamental changes' cannot be fitted into our British political scheme. Revolutionary change or bigoted resistance to change, would be equally fatal. Mr. Kellett is aware of the 'ideological' infection that comes in from abroad, and of the seduction exercised upon ardent spirits by rapid and spectacular political methods. He speaks a cogent word to those who suppose that in a world like this, justice and liberty are inviolable. Our British system is on trial, like other systems. If it is to survive, it will have to be intelligently understood and sturdily defended. 'There are', he says, 'two kinds of danger, external and internal. We may be overcome by foreign force; and the blindness to this peril is one of the most amazing phenomena of the time.' True; and this lesson needs to be taken to heart by Liberals who have been fatally inclined to neglect their country's armaments or to treat them as provocative. As to the internal peril, he surely underestimates the rights of minorities in Great Britain. 'As things are, the minorities have hardly any political rights at all.' A more realistic appreciation of the working of our constitution would bring comfort to Mr. Kellett. Our electoral system is rough and ready, supplying merely a general indication of the country's mood. A government may have a considerable majority in the House of Commons, and yet represent in the country votes in the proportion of five to four. For a government to use that temporary numerical superiority, as though the country had given it *carte blanche*, would

be opposed both to British theory and practice. The latest instance is the Budget introduced by the present Government (overwhelmingly Conservative in personnel). The Chancellor won applause from the Opposition Press and met with serious criticism from his own. While politicians on both sides thus put country first and party second, the system will survive. I would commend Mr. Kellett's summing up. 'We must be as determined believers in our system as the young men and women of Germany are believers in Hitlerism or those of Russia in Communism.'

F. BROMPTON HARVEY.

A Cardinal of the Medici. By Mrs. Hicks Beach. (Cambridge University Press. 15s.)

THIS book is a remarkable work of reinforced imagination, written in a tranquil style, often of extreme beauty, and with memorable qualities of gravity and of resonance. It is composed in the form of pure narrative, professing to be the memoirs of the unknown lady who was the mother of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. The long and easy flow of this narrative never breaks in the ripple of dialogue, and its grace and erudition do not entirely avoid an effect which is occasionally narcotic. It is a scholar's experiment in historical form in which the manifold resources of learning provide with continual richness a variety of detail and of colour. Mrs. Hicks Beach gives to her readers, if they will read her quietly and with attention, a lucid vision of the beautiful and unscrupulous Italy of the Renaissance. Her knowledge of the period and her familiarity with Italian thought and idiom give her style a remarkable fluency and an impressive degree of conviction. The portrait of the lady is firm in outline, abounding in touches of dignity, of grace and of ardent character. Through an admirably controlled medium of portraiture and of narrative Mrs. Hicks Beach presents a general view of the Renaissance pattern, in all its elaborate bloom and exuberance, which will certainly remain in the memory of the attentive reader; and I say attentive reader, because this is definitely a work of leisure, to be appreciated fully only by those who have leisure for slow, concentrated perusal. With a womanly sense of their value, and a scholar's knowledge of their relevance, Mrs. Hicks Beach describes the clothes, the jewels or trappings, the vessels or furniture of her gallant company. Their wines, their dishes, their manner of talking or travelling, the complicated rhythm of their existence and its external beauty, all are comprehended in a rare mastery both of detail and of breadth in composition. Yet, under all the loveliness of outer life, there are times when you feel an almost cynical apprehension of those furtive Italian crimes—poison, the hidden outrage, the midnight murder. It may be considered that the figure of the Cardinal himself is not sufficiently brought into the light, and is, indeed, only an excuse for the book. Certainly he is overshadowed by the imaginary narrator. But then, we should be greatly mistaken if we regarded this book as an ordinary biography. It is nothing of the sort. It is a strongly individual work of art and of learning.

C. E. VULLIAMY.

Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland. By G. B. Henderson, Regius Professor of Church History, University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge Press. 15s.)

THIS erudite volume consists in large part of articles which have appeared in historical and theological journals. Their unity of theme and their scholarly nature well merit the presentation of these studies in book form. Probably the volume will be of interest chiefly to the exact historian: for everywhere the author seeks to state the evidence from first-hand documents. Indeed, more than a fifth of a book of just over 300 pages is devoted to references and notes. This will add to its value for the careful student, but will, we fear, detract from its interest and appeal to the general reader. The chapter-headings will indicate the scope of the book. They are: 'The Bible in Seventeenth-Century Scotland,' 'The Influence of Bishop Patrick Forbes,' 'Foreign Religious Influences in Seventeenth-Century Scotland,' 'Scotland and the Synod of Dort,' 'Some Early Scottish Independents,' 'Scottish Theological Learning in the Seventeenth Century,' 'Externals of Church Worship and Church Government in Scotland under Charles II,' 'The Covenanters,' 'The Scottish Pulpit in the Seventeenth Century,' 'Quietist Influences in Scotland,' and 'Religious Conditions in the North-East of Scotland after the Revolution.' The outstanding fact which emerges from Professor Henderson's studies is that the intellectual environment of seventeenth-century Scotland was theological to an extent which may even surprise some modern Scots. Scotland has for many generations been renowned for her theological interest. Professor Henderson makes it very clear that this is no new or recent concern. The hold of Calvinism on the general mind of Scotland in the seventeenth century was very great; so great, indeed, that Arminianism was popularly classed with Papistry and the Canons of the Synod of Dort were widely regarded as the test of orthodoxy. The present reviewer can remember the seriousness with which such issues were discussed less than thirty years ago even among youths just emerging from their teens. To-day the Canons of Dort would seem to have receded into a past, which it is not easy for the historian to adjudge with complete impartiality. In Scotland, as elsewhere, there is a good deal of theological confusion. The *Westminster Confession* remains a subordinate standard, but, as Professor Henderson reminds us, only a very indefinite formula requires to be signed by ministers and nothing by members in the Church of Scotland. 'On the other hand,' as the author points out—and here he is probably expressing his own judgement—'there is a strong feeling that the prevailing theological sentiments are too weak, and something definite in the direction of discipline and sternness is again required, and that the Scottish Church might be strengthened by a determined return to the study of those questions which have immortalized the Synod of Dort.' Yet seventeenth-century Scotland produced no theologian of the first rank. In the judgement of Professor Henderson, 'if originality is anywhere to be found it is outside the Calvinist

circle of Robert Barclay, the Quaker Apologist'. This review may be closed with two quotations from the book—one, of interest to the student of Aberdeen's legendary, as some hold, parsimony; the other, of interest to the student of modern ecclesiastical and theological issues. 'In 1622 a collection was taken throughout Scotland for the French Kirk. Calderwood tells us that the nonconformists subscribed best, and servants were not behind in generosity. . . . Aberdeen Kirk Session approved of the scheme, but waited to see what the southern burghs would subscribe, and never actually themselves gave anything.' 'Patrick Forbes did not hold views of Apostolic succession which would have satisfied Laud. He rejected the doctrine of succession through Bishops. "The succession of piety is properlie to be holden succession, for who profeseth the same doctrine of faith he is partner of the same chaire, but who embraceth a contrarie faith he ought to bee accounted an adversarie albeit even sitting in the chaire, and this indeed hath the name but the other hath the substance and truth of succession".'

C. J. WRIGHT.

The Beginnings of the Christian Church. By Hans Lietzmann. (Ivor Nicholson & Watson. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. B. Lee Woolf has succeeded far better in his translation of the first volume of Lietzmann's *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* than in his earlier experiment with Martin Dibelius's *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*. The publishers are to be congratulated upon their enterprise in giving to English readers this work by a leading German scholar, whose portrait, together with a short biographical sketch by the translator, will introduce him to a new circle of friends. We have already made several references to this book in its German form (see *L.Q.H.R.* Jan., 1934, and Jan., 1935) and will now only say that its value lies far more in the information given about the world in which the Gospel was first preached, and in the heretical outcrops of Christianity in the second century, than in the treatment of the New Testament itself. Many of the author's *obiter dicta* are extremely questionable, such as, 'The saying from Q found in Lk. xiii. 34 is probably a quotation from the Book of Wisdom mentioned in xi. 49, and has no relevance to the question' whether Jesus had visited Jerusalem before the final Passover (p. 70). His endorsement of Harnack's suspicion that the word *not* has fallen out of our text of Hebrews v. 7-9, and that the clause should read, 'having not been heard for His godly fear', is on a par with his statement about John xi. 51, xviii. 13: The Fourth Evangelist 'knows so little of the period before the destruction of Jerusalem that he assumes, quite naively, that the Jewish high priest was changed and installed each year just like a provincial high priest among the Hellenists' (p. 302). There is surely here a rigidity of mind that fails to catch the real meaning in each passage. We must attribute either to the translator or to the printer a redundant *not* which makes nonsense of the sixth line on p. 142. The same explanation must account for the word 'creditable' where 'credible' is the right translation of *glaubhaft*. Lietzmann's

account of the relation between Paul and Peter sounds like a recrudescence of the old Tübingen theory. A fuller statement of his eccentric views on this subject has already been given to the readers of this Quarterly in a review of the later editions of Lietzmann's commentary on Paul's major epistles in his *Handbuch* (see Jan., 1933, p. 94). Needless to say Lietzmann accepts what we regard as an unnecessarily late date for some of the New Testament writings. For these reasons we should not recommend this book as one to put into the hands of any novice as representing the best established judgement on matters of New Testament criticism. But for those who know how to use such a book, it is a liberal education to sit at the feet of this eminent scholar. There is a vast amount of learning behind these simple chapters. The student can learn a great deal about contemporary Judaism and Hellenism, about the Diaspora and the state of life and thought in the Roman Empire. He will learn much about Gnosticism and about the sub-apostolic period. But we should be doing Dr. Lietzmann a grave injustice if we gave the impression that the student will not also find light thrown upon many a difficult problem that meets him in the careful study of the New Testament. Provided that the critical faculty is not allowed to slumber under the magical influence of the author's brilliant and facile presentation, this book will prove an incentive to further study of the first Christian century.

W. F. HOWARD.

A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500. By J. W. C. Wand, D.D., Archbishop of Brisbane. (Methuen & Co., Ltd. 8s. 6d.)

THIS is a well-written history of the Church of the first five centuries, compact, and well produced. The publisher's claim that it makes use of the latest specialist treatises is borne out by the list of books appended. The book is readable, the material excellently arranged, and pains have been taken in the text, as also by means of tables and maps, to make everything plain to the ordinary general reader as well as to the more experienced student. It is natural to expect in such a treatise some indication of the author's views on many points, especially on the Church and the Ministry, and here we are unable to follow him in every particular. The position that episcopacy by the commencement of the second century was 'an old and tried institution' and that 'mon-episcopacy was already the custom' is most unreliable in view of the available evidence, as also is the kindred suggestion that 'the apostolic authority would be continued' alone through a single head in any Church. Again, the statement occurs (p. 119) that 'in the early days the line between clergy and laity was drawn below the three offices of bishop, priest, and deacon'; but what exactly are those 'early days' when such three offices can assuredly be regarded as everywhere in being? Doubtless the Archbishop would have a different answer on this point from what Dr. Streeter would reply; and we must confess that our judgement is that Streeter's facts as to the fluidity of the Ministry during the

first two centuries are unshaken by Dr. Wand's disagreements. Then the Montanists remind the Archbishop of the Methodists because 'in their zeal and their asceticism' they 'seemed actually to surpass their contemporaries'. Perhaps it was not very difficult for the Methodists to accomplish that; and yet the comparison is rather gratuitous. Indeed, it suffers from being incomplete; for Bishop Butler's rebuke to John Wesley is quoted without Wesley's rejoinder: 'I pretend to no extraordinary revelations or gifts of the Holy Ghost: none but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for.' Thus the reference, in connexion with Montanism, is not obviously relevant. The suggestion that the Agape began in unorthodox circles and was not introduced into the Church till nearly the end of the second century is hardly borne out by 1 Cor. xi, the Didache, or Ignatius. Augustine felt the difficulty of reconciling his ideas about predestination and the sacraments more than might be gathered from the statement (p. 229) that those who are predestined are called into the Church and its sacramental life. The problem of the non-elect in relation to the sacraments was one for which he had no satisfactory solution. And the term 'priested' (p. 226) for ordination to the presbyterate is none too happy. But these matters of comment and criticism detract but little from the excellence of the book. Archbishop Wand has done a service to students of Church History for which they should be truly grateful.

H. WATKIN-JONES.

Life Here and Now. By Arthur Ponsonby (Lord Ponsonby of Shulbrede). (George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

TWENTY years of observation and reflection have gone to the making of Lord Ponsonby's book, which might be described as an examination of the days of our lives in order to find guidance in the business of living. One problem is treated with detailed and discriminating judgement, and with a healthy respect for familiar and unfamiliar facts. The major part of the book is concerned with the Sense of Duration. It is a commonplace that our measurements of clock and calendar time are peculiar to life on this planet, and that any imagined life elsewhere must be independent of any time sequences which are determined by the relation of this world to the sun. Moreover, in life as we know it, the relativity of clock time is apparent to anyone who has altered his watch in the course of a sea voyage. Lord Ponsonby makes no attempt to discuss the Absolute Time of Newton, the Space-Time theory of Alexander, or the restricted theory of Relativity of Einstein. He feels himself on the brink of the incomprehensible, as indeed, with rare exceptions, most men are. Instead, he provides a fascinating sketch of the part our senses play in the Sense of Duration, and of the way in which youth and age, tedium and enjoyment, and all the experiences which are our lot, vary our sense of the passing of Time (if Time passes). His method is similar to that of Whitehead, in that he criticizes the concepts of classical physics, and elaborates the notion of Duration from the immediate data of sense. The poets provide a wealth of imagery, and the literature drawn upon by Lord

Ponsonby gives to his philosophy a human and engaging quality. The parallel drawn between time and money leads to the introduction of the main thesis: 'Look after the hours; the years will look after themselves' (p. 140). 'A more conscious realization of the priceless value of the passing moment would seem to be essential, desirable and attainable, although it may involve the abandonment of doctrines which teach us to belittle To-day in vague hopes of a better to-morrow' (p. 146). At once it is apparent that Lord Ponsonby rejects the Christian doctrine of the life everlasting, whether it is expounded conditionally by the Archbishop of York, or spiritually in Canon Streeter's volume, or with qualifications and hesitations by Dean Inge. Equally unacceptable is McTaggart's idea of immortality without God. It is implied also that the whole edifice of Christian truth has crumbled and fallen because the terrors of Hell are gone. In spite of wide and careful reading and patient thinking on these questions, Lord Ponsonby finds his sources of inspiration for the business of living in a complete rejection of all religious belief. This abandonment of belief, he says, gives to our spiritual propensities their proper direction and purpose, and releases us from the fetters of superstition (p. 182). Consequently, the highest wisdom is that which concentrates attention on improving life *here* (environment), and *now* (by action). The exposition of this ethical imperative is finely set forth in the two closing chapters. One urgent example of immediate duty suggested is that of individual decision to repudiate force as a method of settling international disputes (p. 283). The attack on megalomania and blatancy is refreshing and salutary, and the criticism of commercialized society is constructive, if not creative. But the practical value of the main thesis is discounted by the fact that Lord Ponsonby's ethic has no metaphysical basis. However refined his naturalism may be, it cannot avoid being determinist, as he recognizes when he dismisses the doctrine of retribution (p. 182), and when he discusses irresistible environment (p. 202 and *passim*). Lord Ponsonby is aware of the dilemma, but the creative value of his argument depends upon man being able to choose and determine for himself. In discussing the evolution of the spiritual (pp. 243-6), Lord Ponsonby draws near to a concept of spiritual reality which is almost religious, but he falls back on the superstition of last century, represented by Morley and Meredith, and in a less degree by Ruskin and Carlyle (all prophets of their day), that the thoughtful agnostic is the only honest man, or at least the only man whose spiritual nature has been liberated. It is difficult for one reader to recognize either the Church or the Christianity of which Lord Ponsonby has formed a picture. In how many churches and chapels are we continually told to 'dwell on past delinquencies with eyes cast backwards' (p. 256), or that 'the present organization of society is a providential arrangement' (p. 229), or to ignore the importance of the day which lies before us, 'and concentrate our attention on the salvation of our souls in a world to come' (ch. viii)? These charges may be levelled at the medieval Church when it lost touch with the word

and work of Christ, but the Church of to-day supplies the dynamic for all the causes which Lord Ponsonby has at heart. He condemns the Church for 'cheery optimism' (p. 185), and for 'gloomy solemnity' (p. 286), and occasionally he is in peril of being supercilious (pp. 246-7). Whereas, in truth, the spiritual force so well described (p. 245) has been actually realized in the holy Church throughout all the world. And the spring and source of the sheer joy which Lord Ponsonby so deeply feels in Nature is in that intangible spiritual reality which he dimly discerns, but which Christian faith rejoices to apprehend. The argument of this book has all the attractiveness of the one-sided. The complete problem of metaphysics is formulated in the first two phrases of a famous hymn:

Abide with me; fast falls the eventide.

The first phrase expresses permanence: 'abide,' 'me,' and the Being addressed; the second sets these permanences amid the inescapable flux. The philosophers who see the permanent have given us the metaphysic of substance; the philosophers who see the element of change give us the metaphysic of flux. Lord Ponsonby grasps the fact of change without any realization of the fact of permanence. But life cannot be divided in that way. The best rendering of integral experience is in the utterances of religious aspiration, and, as Whitehead reminds us, one of the reasons of the thinness of so much modern metaphysics is its neglect of this wealth of expression of ultimate feeling. In two fields this book will have a permanent place: in the field of twentieth-century humanism, because of the high seriousness with which immediate interests and values are examined, with a genuine altruism as a clue to their preservation; and in the field of speculation on that part of the problem of Time which includes the Sense of Duration, Lord Ponsonby's detailed and lively treatment of the data provided in the act of living from day to day is likely to become a classic.

S. G. DIMOND.

The Legacy of India. Edited by G. T. Garratt. With an Introduction by the Marquess of Zetland. (Humphrey Milford. 10s.)

THE *Legacy* series issued by the Oxford Press having already dealt with Greece, Rome, Israel, Islam, and the Middle Ages, is now enriched by a volume on India. All that we have learned to expect in form, scholarship and interest is found in a high degree in this recent addition to the series. It may, however, be valuable in some ways scarcely open to other volumes in the series, as the contribution of India to our modern life may be entering on a new and significant phase. The book contains papers by experts on a wide range of subjects—philosophy, music, science, philology and art. While there is much of academical value, there is much that is of immediate and practical relevance to modern life, and Mr. Garratt makes no secret of his hope that the book will do something to deepen British appreciation of Indian culture. His criticism of the effects of British contact with India is specially appropriate now that Indian questions are

having more sympathetic and wide-spread attention. In the chapter on Indo-British Civilization the comparative sterility of Indian history during the past 150 years is pointed out, and it is suggested that the English have not provided a good channel for spreading abroad the more valuable elements in Indian culture. Now that a new period is opening for the political life of India it is a matter of great consequence that any errors of the past should be defined and henceforth avoided. Even admirers of Macaulay may doubt whether his mind was not too dogmatic to appreciate what an alien culture had to offer. 'Like Mr. Rudyard Kipling half a century later, he lent his great powers to voicing the prejudices of his less articulate countrymen marooned in a country for which they had little sympathy.' While this volume is important as a convenient compendium of much information about India, it ought also to deepen our sympathy and understanding and so help to bring in a new day of hope for India.

R. STRONG.

Occident and Orient. Gaster Anniversary Volume. Edited by Bruno Schindler, Ph.D. (Taylor's Foreign Press, £3 3s. 0d.)

This beautiful book consists of Studies in Semitic Philology and Literature, Jewish History and Philosophy and Folklore in the widest sense, in honour of Haham Dr. M. Gaster's Eightieth Birthday. Dr. Moses Gaster may justly be described as the 'Grand Old Man' of contemporary Jewry. Born in Roumania, he became, while still in early manhood, one of the most distinguished scholars of his race. He was the pioneer in the scientific study of the Roumanian language and literature, and in the comparative study of Jewish folklore. The list of his writings begins with the year 1873, and occupies no less than sixteen large pages. In 1885 he was exiled from his native land, and although the decree of expulsion was afterwards officially revoked, he declined to return. He became the leading pastor of the Sephardic community in this country, and later Principal of Montefiore College. Amid all his academic pursuits he has found time to champion all movements devoted to the well-being of Jews. To no one does the Zionist Movement owe more than to him. He claims that he has never taken any serious exercise, never worked in a room with open windows, and never forgotten where any book stands in his library of 30,000 volumes. It is impossible to review in detail a book of this kind. There are in it fifty-eight essays, written by authors, Jew and Christian, in a dozen countries, on such varied subjects as may represent the interests of a man who has taken all learning for his province.

C. R. NORTH.

Queens and Princesses. By M. T. Fortescue. (George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

This is a volume that will make a particular appeal to one class of reader, and especially at this juncture. As the legendary reviewer said, if people like this kind of thing, this is the kind of thing that they will like. That gives the quality of the book perhaps as well

as any longer characterization would do. The index contains the names of some three hundred or more royal and princely personages. A great deal of reading and some minor research has gone to the writing of the book, and there is much interesting detail and some piquant scandal here and there in the pages. The English reader will probably turn with most interest to the account of the Coburgs, the German princelings who managed to ally themselves with almost every royal family in Europe, and notably with the reigning house of Britain.

J.C.B.

The Green Edge of Asia. By Richard Pyke. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

We picked up this book fatigued with work in a depressed area conditions, and were transported immediately to the new world of China and Japan. A worse world, true, but it made us more content with our own. The author has the fine art of a good story-teller and held us captive until the last page. He has disdained the conventional rod, line and recognized bait of the tourist with official guide book, and has brought home a profitable and interesting catch. If we wish to see how the Chinese and Japanese folk take life, be it at work, theatre, wedding, funeral, here is the answer. The picture of Shanghai, wicked, cosmopolitan, sweated, overcrowded, leaves upon us an unforgettable and disturbing impression. The West has left a fearsome legacy in that city, and obviously has made money its god. All over China seething, bubbling life seems to be swarming, sprawling everywhere, yet made complacent and smiling in its dirt and poverty by its mental attitudes. Mr. Pyke holds the balances evenly as he deals with the contrasting view-points of East and West. Are we apt to worship comfort and allow the goods of life to corrupt us? The Chinese can smile amidst circumstances which would kill an Englishman. Is this due to a fatalistic philosophy of life? For other and deeper reasons the reader must be referred to the book. Will China ever remain content? Is she likely to become rebellious and revolutionary? Will she allow the more aggressive Japanese to overspread the land, then later, because of her inherent fondness for the *status quo* and perceiving her life is at stake, give Japan the 'order of the boot'? The author confesses to a liking for the Japanese, and sketches in felicitous phrase their characteristics. Their duality as they strive to live in the two worlds of East and West, keeping two suits of clothes, indeed two of everything, makes interesting reading. We are left wondering how long this yellow East will wear a pleasant face towards the white-faced West. Will China win a resurrection to her former glory when her art finds its way as far as Central Africa? Will Japan, a maritime nation strangely akin to our own, spill over its brimming bowl of life, and remain content to find the doors of all desirable worlds locked against it? We ought to know something of these two great countries. One large in land space, also rich in raw materials yet conservative and poor in organization. The other small in area, but aggressive and possessing executive gifts. Both are destined to play a vital part in world politics. May it not be a fatal

one! Mr. Pyke has written an excellent introduction to these peoples and their probable moves. The story is told like a 'thriller', using the word in the best sense, and some readers will be tempted to enjoy the ride and forget objectives. Problems are discussed and should not be overlooked. Mr. Pyke has no 'axe to grind' and provides material for the thoughtful reader to reach helpful conclusions. The format of the book does the publisher credit, and is enriched with fourteen photographs.

G. H. PARBROOK.

Four Generations of Our Royal Family. By Lord Holden (George Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

In this book Lord Holden has given a frank account of the domestic joys and tragedies of the reigning house. The diplomacies and intrigues of a century are faithfully reflected in the families and their relations who ruled the destinies of the great European nations. The central person of the book is the Widow of Windsor, who, with all her aloofness, spartan discipline and amazing prejudices, became a revered figure in the heart of an empire. She dominated her own family and fashioned the policies of a continent. Her son, Edward VII, despite his frailties, was so human that he is remembered as a peacemaker, and her grandson, George V, was beloved as the faithful servant of a commonwealth of nations. As a whole the book is not pleasant reading, but it is a revelation of the fact that the rulers of the people are as human and wayward as any of their subjects, and in the light of the story here told, much that has happened in our day is understood. The volume is enriched with thirty-two excellent photographs.

Salvation Dynasty. By Brian Lunn. (William Hodge. 12s. 6d. net.)

Salvation Dynasty is an estimate of the life and work of William Booth and the rise and progress of the Salvation Army. It is acid in its criticism and manifests a bias against the object of the book which robs it of permanent value. A biographer errs when his personal opinions dim the outline of his story. Evidently the author is a member of the Roman Church and his antipathy to Nonconformity in general and the Salvation Army in particular is most marked. In this treatment of his subject the author conforms to the growing but undesirable habit which produces provocative and highly debatable revelations under the title of biographies. Mr. Lunn's facts may be true, but his interpretation is as much at fault as his good taste. We cannot conceive of any good purpose being served by this book.

Through the Holy Land. By L. T. Pearson. (Victory Press. 2s. 6d.)

This book is a devotional study of the Holy Land. The author acts the parts of guide and preacher. He has definite views on the sites, customs and their scriptural references. The conclusions drawn are frequently unconvincing to the critical mind, but will be welcomed by those who share the writer's opinions. The illustrations are good.

GENERAL

The Sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing. By Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More. (Oxford University Press. 14s.)

This is a volume that deserves a warm welcome from everyone who is a student of Goethe, and everyone who is interested in the development of legend. The authors (or rather editors) of the book are American scholars connected with Lehigh University, and in this compilation they have rendered a genuine service to knowledge, for they have collected all that bears directly upon the Faust legend, and printed it here. The relevant portion of such works as the *Clementine Recognitions* and the *Legenda Aurea*, in their bearing upon legends of Simon Magus, Cyprianus and Theophilus (which are possibly partial sources of the Faust legend); all the contemporary references to the historical Faust in the letters of Trithemius, Conrad Mutianus Rufus, and Joachim Camerarius, the *Table Talk* of Luther, various German chronicles, and so on; the English and German Faust books; the early Faust dramas and puppet plays—all these are printed here in full, with the German originals, where such exist. The volume is, in fact, a complete source-book for the study of the legend. The reader is given in these pages what he would otherwise seek in many volumes, and what, in some cases, he would have great difficulty in finding at all. There is a great deal to be said for such volumes as these, and we wish that there were many more of them than there are. When the collection is as complete as it is here, and when the editorial work is as well done as it is in Messrs. Palmer and More's pages, the book becomes an asset to the scholar as well as to the general reader. No one who admires the greatest of all German poets can afford to miss this admirable volume, nor can anyone who has a real interest in the literature of legend.

HENRY BETT.

The New Pacifism. (Allenson; Firkbank Series. 2s. 6d.)

This is a collection of seven brief essays, connected only by their common subject and the common conviction of the writers that war is utterly and under all circumstances immoral. The aim is to justify this attitude, and especially to set forth its positive elements. In 'The Significance of the New Pacifism' Gerald Heard maintains that war is only a symptom of a diseased individualized civilization, and can only be successfully combated by a way of life that is true because it is creative. He looks to the Group Method as the means by which this way of life is to be cultivated and expressed. Aldous Huxley, in 'Pacifism and Philosophy', shows that, in the practical affairs of life as in art and science, means determine ends, and therefore the end of peace cannot be attained by the wholly inappropriate

means usually employed by States, such as swindling, threats of violence and violence itself. In answer to the question, 'which is the most propitious metaphysical environment for pacifism?' he dismisses humanism, which promised well but has developed into nationalism and is now the greatest enemy of peace, and says we are thrown back on superhumanism which, however, must not be exclusive but must be a belief in a spiritual reality to which all men have access and in which they are united. A. A. Milne contributes the chapter from his *Peace with Honour* entitled 'Onward, Christian Soldiers'. It is an attempt to find the fundamental Christian attitude to war, and to force it home on the Christian conscience. Beverley Nichols' *Cry Havoc* has supplied 'The Microbes of War'. It shows how, by means of toy soldiers and military tattoos, by war memorials and uniforms, and by idealistic literature, war is glorified, and how from cradle to grave men and women are thus being subjected to psychological influences which give a false glamour to war. 'Great Possessions', by Horace G. Alexander, is to my mind the most valuable contribution. Getting behind the fact of war to the injustices out of which it arises, he maintains that no stable peace is possible in an unjust world. The true pacifist method, he holds, so far as the individual is concerned, is to identify himself, at least in sympathy and in some cases actually, with the dispossessed or the enemy. Carl Heath pleads for the use of persuasion in place of force, and Canon H. R. L. Sheppard concludes the book with a short sermon on forgiveness. With the spirit and much of the reasoning of this book every Christian must be in accord. War as an institution is an anachronism in a Christian world, and anything is welcome that will tear away its false trappings and force home on men its absurdity and wrong. But we should like to see a more dispassionate and balanced presentation of the case. One frequent statement is that war stands condemned intellectually because it always fails to attain its end. Surely history does not support that contention. Joan of Arc sought to drive the English out of France, and that end was attained. The Parliament fought Charles I to smash the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and did it. Abraham Lincoln fought to preserve the Union, and the Union was preserved. It may be argued that the price paid in all these cases for the end reached was too great, or that other results robbed the attainment of its value, but that does not destroy the fact that the desired end was gained. Even of the World War that is so far true. We may dismiss the bunkum about making the world safe for democracy, and so on. But the Allies appealed to the sword to repel the menace of German militarism, and they did it. War is destructive, and can only at best clear the ground for construction. If at the Peace Conference this country had been represented by the Lloyd George of to-day who, unlike most politicians, has learnt something by experience, instead of by the Lloyd George who squealed about hanging the Kaiser, if France had been represented by Monsieur Blum instead of by that strong, narrow-minded nationalist, Clemenceau, it is conceivable that post-War

history might have taken a different course. One of the indictments of war is that, in destroying the evil against which it is directed, it destroys also the temper needed for the work of construction that follows. My main criticism of this unpretentious book is that it never really grapples with the difficulties which the ordinary mind sees in relation to war and peace. That in an ideal world force will not be used may be admitted; but we have to deal, and especially the statesman has to deal, with a world that is not ideal, in which there are criminal elements, and in such a world there must be force. The problem is ever arising—is this a situation for the use of force, and if so what sort, and how should it be directed? These essays may not convert all readers to the extreme pacifism which the writers profess, but if they provoke thought on the subject, if they lead some Christian people to see more clearly the essentials of their faith, if they convince us that each one of us can make a contribution to world peace by taking seriously the principles of our faith and obeying them without compromise, if they drive us to see and hate and fight the national and class injustices that breed war, they will have justified their publication.

E. B. STORR.

The Co-operate Movement in the Punjab. By Ata Ullah, M.A.
(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 16s.)

The main characteristic of co-operation in India is that it is predominantly an agricultural credit movement, for the problem of agricultural indebtedness is one of the greatest hindrances to progress in that land. The Government was early convinced that the only hope of salvation for the peasants was a scheme of co-operation, whereby they would not only be relieved from the rapacity of the moneylenders but enabled to purchase their raw materials and dispose of their produce at more reasonable prices. From the beginning the Government has kept a friendly eye on the movement and has lent some of its best officials to supervise the work. Co-operation has been well defined as 'self help made effective by organization'. The movement has been widely developed, but it is generally acknowledged that the Punjab is the stronghold of co-operation in India. It is therefore of great interest to have this full account of the way in which it has been developed in this district by one who is an acknowledged authority on the movement. Mr. Ata Ullah, though approving of the movement, as a whole is critical in his judgements and does not hesitate to oppose the official view in many matters. He realizes that the provision of agricultural credit is a fundamental necessity in India. Only those who have personal knowledge of the deadening effect of the heavy debts, usually due to the high rates of interest charged by the sahu-kars, can realize how essential it is to agriculture that the peasant should be protected. He gives many instances of the helplessness of these cultivators when once they are in the hands of these moneylenders. The following may be quoted as an example. A Muslim cultivator in the Attock district borrowed

in 1882 a sum of Rs. 500 on the security of land. At the rate of 25 per cent the debt swelled to just under Rs. 200,000 for which the subordinate court had to grant a decree. The greatest opposition to the movement has come from these moneylenders, who do not hesitate to exercise their great influence with subordinate officials to prevent the extension of the movement. Apart from the material assistance afforded by these societies the movement has a great moral value. 'The peculiar feature of Co-operation as a remedy for stagnation is that it is intended to meet not only the more obvious material evils, but also the underlying moral deterioration to which the poorer classes have so long been exposed.' The writer strikes a note of warning. 'Unless co-operation is given the fullest encouragement and is allowed to play its part in the solution of economic problems, the bases of which are mental and moral, the statesmen of the next generation will find the vast majority of the population either reduced to the position of serfs, who are a disgrace to humanity, or starving rioters and rebels, who are a menace to the peace of the Province.'

ARTHUR R. SLATER.

Christianity in the Social State. By W. F. Lofthouse, D.D.
(Unicorn Press. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. W. F. Lofthouse has written a valuable book in the Christian Challenge Series with the title, *Christianity in the Social State*. He distinguishes between Christianity and the Church and between the Social State and Society, and traces the development of the social state from the earliest Christian days down to the present age of social reconstruction. The influence of Christianity on the social state is clearly shown throughout the book. This study is marked by the clear, convincing logic of an expert teacher and will be welcomed both by the student of the past and the idealist of the future. The concluding chapter on Communism, Ally or Foe? is a real contribution to the study of this vital subject. The last twenty years have seen the birth of the regimented and unified social state, the dominance of finance, the advance of science and the rise of humanism. Each of these offers a challenge to Christianity and to them is added the ferment of Communism. Dr. Lofthouse contrasts and compares with an exact mind the purposes of Christianity and Communism and leaves the reader to judge with all the evidence before him. The way forward, with which the book closes, is a survey of distracting facts which will induce the Christian to realize that there are formative, persuasive and inspiring factors in society that presage the fulfilment of Christ's purposes in the world.

The South African Melting Pot: A Vindication of Missionary Policy, 1799-1836. By Desmond K. Clinton, B.D., B.Litt. (Longmans. 3s. 6d.)

The purpose of this survey of the early stages in the London Missionary Society's work in South Africa is stated in its sub-title. It is

based on original documents in the archives of the L.M.S., and in Government departments. These had been used by Richard Lovett in his history of the Society as materials for a connected description of events; here they shed light on the chequered history of the colony, and the heroic efforts of the missionaries to maintain their humanitarian and religious ideals under accumulating difficulties. The conflict of missionary with colonial ideals was inevitable in days when the abolition of the slave trade made native labour at once more difficult to obtain and more necessary for the veldt farmers. The Government gave specious praise to missionary endeavours, although there was never any real enthusiasm for work among natives who were beyond the borders of the colony. The ultimate purpose of using missions and missionaries as cat's-paws for keeping the natives in ignorance and subjection is plainly in evidence. This became direct opposition in the latter part of the period under review, when emancipation brought other problems. The faults of the missionaries are not slurred over; these, however, do not obscure their brave fight to secure freedom, protection, and justice for the natives, especially for the Hottentots. A chapter is given to the work at Bethelsdorp, an institution that was much criticized but well worth study to-day as an example of Christianity at work on unpromising materials. J. T. Vanderkemp, John Campbell, and Dr. John Philip are the outstanding personalities amongst the missionaries of this period. In the case of Vanderkemp the record arouses desire for fuller knowledge of a remarkable man. A portrait of Dr. Philip and a map of the mission area add interest to this survey of some heroic happenings in modern missionary enterprise.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Christian Freedom in the Modern World. By Leslie Newbegin.
(S.C.M.P. 2s. 6d.)

This small book of 93 pages is an attempt by an Indian missionary, to solve the paradox of the Christian life, i.e. 'that the morality of obedience to duty by itself leads to bondage, and yet simply to eliminate obedience to duty from the good life is impossible'. Readers of Professor Macmurray's book, *Freedom in the Modern World*, will remember that he argues that we must throw over the idea of law, duty and obedience as the basis of morality and trust in our educated emotions which will lead to the good life which is spontaneous, natural, and the immediate response of our whole personality to the real world. Mr. Newbegin is not satisfied with this position and his book is a sustained argument against the central point of Macmurray's teaching, which he declares to be the elimination of the idea of obedience to duty from the moral life. In a fine chapter he deals with the significance of conscience, and in his final chapter with Christian freedom, in which he claims that the Christian faith alone solves the paradox of law and freedom 'by taking account of the reality which underlies the idea of moral law without falling into the self-contradiction of legalism'. His answer is based on three lines

of approach. First, the Christian faith entirely delivers us from the motive of self-justification before law, yet it fulfils law; secondly, it entirely delivers us from the motive of self-improvement, yet it safeguards the truth that character is more important than good works; thirdly, it is based as much upon emotion as upon intellect, yet it does not seek to explain away the category of duty.

ARTHUR R. SLATER.

From World Force to World Fellowship. By George Frederick Wates. (The Lindsey Press 2s. 6d.)

The author of this little book has found it difficult to frame a title which will indicate the scope and purpose of his writing; and this is not surprising, for he has attempted a confession of faith, and has endeavoured to commend it by an appeal to history, to the study of politics, of sociology and of religion, and all within the compass of a slender volume which may be read in a couple of hours. The point of view of the writer is familiar enough, though the wide range of his reading and his broad tolerance distinguish him from the considerable multitude of writers who present a popular account of the more solid conclusions of careful scholarship. Mr. Wates does not offer the fruits of ripe learning. His quotations appear to be drawn from works of reference rather than original sources and he uses with approval opinions of unequal authority. Yet the contention of the book will carry conviction. The writer pleads for sound common sense, and sweet reasonableness as the sure and right solution of the problems of living. His religion, if it is not Christianity, is a sincere faith in God and in the worth of human effort, though its goal does not lie in that society of the redeemed to which the Church looks forward. 'We want', he says, 'a conception of life as a whole that will bring all politics, religion and sociology into such harmonious relations that they will inevitably lead to world fellowship.' Of necessity Mr. Wates deals very sketchily with his historical material, and his handling of an impressive gallery of distinguished figures hardly does justice to their real characters. When he pleads for an intelligent democracy as the foundation of stable government he is on firmer ground, and some of his assertions deserve a wide currency. 'The moral unity of freedom is on a far higher plane than the mechanical unity of force.' 'How difficult for those to govern well who have not been trained to share responsibility.' There is nothing new in this brief statement, but its form, unencumbered with the reservations necessary to more exact scholarship, fits it to serve usefully for readers of scanty leisure.

The Speaker's Bible. Romans, Vol. I. Edited by Rev. E. Hastings, M.A. (Speaker's Bible Office, Aberdeen. 9s. 6d.)

Preachers cannot afford to despise any help that is offered in the preparation of their sermons, and the various publications associated with the name of Hastings have provided much sound help. A large number of volumes in the *Speaker's Bible* has already been published,

and the latest edition will be found to contain welcome guidance on many of the difficult passages in the first eleven chapters of Romans. These sermons will not relieve the preacher of the necessity of thinking out the subject for himself, but they will afford him much guidance and inspiration in his own treatment of the text on which he intends to preach. He will find many an apt illustration which will serve as a window to let in the light on his subject. Many will also appreciate the clear and succinct account, given by Dr. Vincent Taylor, Principal of Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds, of the meaning and purpose of the epistle.

A.R.S.

The Art of Living. By Norman Vincent Peale. (The Abingdon Press. 1 dollar.)

To say anything really new on the art of living would be a considerable feat. This book does not manage the feat. The writer is at his best in his illustrations and quotations garnered from a wide field. Much is written that is wise and shrewd; counsel is given that any reader would do well to heed; the treatment, though it by no means covers the whole art of living, is comprehensive. The Preface declares that the purpose of the book is to give practical help to men and women everywhere and that Christianity contains the secret of the satisfactory life. Beginning with the 'Know Thyself' of Socrates, the writer works round to 'Why not try God?' via the conquest of worry, taking time to live, finding peace of mind, the discovery of happiness, the escape from fear, the technique of spiritual power, living in modern days, and Christ's healing power. What is said on these topics could have been compressed into fewer words and could often have been expressed more strikingly, but speakers seeking workable material will find this book quite useful, and, being an American publication, the quarry which the said speakers have worked will not be readily identified!

ERNEST BARRETT.

Eleventh Hour Questions. A Symposium. (Moray Press. 3s. 6d.)

The recent Scottish Peace Congress formed an editorial committee to reveal the peril of war and the urgency of peace. The rapid re-arming of the nations and of acceptance of, and submission to, this state of affairs have brought us to an eleventh hour in human destiny. Fifteen representative men and women have stated their plans for peace, in this book, and their themes and conclusions survey the whole situation. They differ widely in their method of realizing their aim, but they are one in their hatred of oppression and their passion for peace. They view the position as Scots, but their arguments are cogent for all. The names of the writers ensure an authoritative statement on each subject and the list includes politicians, clergy, economists and journalists. We commend this book to all who are concerned in education for peace, and to the consideration of those who through desire for profit or power acclaim re-armament and prepare for the devastation of war.

The Local Church. By Albert W. Beaven, D.D., LL.D.
(Abingdon Press. 1 dollar 25 cents.)

The advent of business efficiency courses is being followed by a similar technique for the running of a Church. Dr. Beaven, in his interesting book, *The Local Church*, provides a businesslike, tested scheme for the organization of a successful Church. On every page the hall mark is success, and efficiency rather than spirituality appears to be the standard. The two are not incompatible but there is a first thing to be kept first. The mystery of Spirit is that organization is its last not its first concern. Christlikeness is the purpose of the Church and to that goal the established society must ever move. The Church can never achieve its main task by perfecting the organization within. It has a challenge to make and a salvation to offer to the lost. Of these the author has little to say. He is concerned, and we agree it is a great concern, with the inefficient saints and the outworn mechanism of the Church. There is a greater concern, that of proclaiming the gospel. The difficulty in achieving the highest will tempt those who work to be willing to accept lower goals, which, when accomplished, the workers are lured into thinking they have reached their real aim. The author realizes that is the difficulty and his reader may be pardoned for thinking that is the hole into which the writer has fallen. Nevertheless the book is well written and, within its limits, will be a real help to the Church executive.

Cures for Minds in Distress. By Rabbi Morris Lichtenstein.
(Jewish Science Publishing Co., New York.)

Rabbi Lichtenstein is described on the title page of this book as the Leader and Founder of Jewish Science. In the introduction the author argues that civilization has augmented man's needs immeasurably, and his efforts to meet those needs are crushing his sensitive nervous system. This explains the tense faces, hasty gestures, and hectic speech of the people we meet, who suffer because they are squandering their energies. The strides in civilization are too rapid for the nervous capacities of man. Other causes contribute to the prevalence of nervous and mental disorders, and our age is the victim of neurasthenia, melancholia, mania, hysteria, epilepsy, paranoia, dementia praecox, complexes, abnormal impulses and insomnia. Each of these is the subject of a chapter setting forth in each case the medical, psycho-analytical and religious method of treatment. These three methods are expounded more generally in three early chapters, and then are applied in detail throughout the work. Readings from the Old Testament are included in the text, and devotional exercises are prescribed. The purpose of the religious treatment is to invoke the 'divine flow of health', and to direct it into specific channels. In the last chapter selections are given from the Rabbi's case-book, and these show how many nervous sufferers have been cured by Jewish Science.

S. G. DIMOND.

Libraries and the Public. By Lionel R. McColvin. (George Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

This very comprehensive little book, the third of a series called 'The Practical Library Hand-books', is really a concise philosophy of librarianship stated in practical terms. It should appeal not only to specialists—a rapidly increasing body—but also to the members of library committees and to all who recognize the tremendous importance of books and ideas. With the marked increase of leisure and the spread of the reading habit throughout the community, the question becomes urgent—What exactly are the functions and aims of the public library service? The author, who is Chief Librarian at Hampstead and also secretary of the Library Association, deals most helpfully with every aspect of this question, from first principles downwards. He knows his own mind and brings out clearly the contrast between what *is* and what *might be*. Incidentally, it is rather startling to realize how far our own country lags behind America in this essential public service. One can sympathize with many a harassed local librarian in his efforts to get the local authorities to face the main question—What is really our ideal of public library service? However, as this book clearly shows, there has been a vast improvement since the passing of the Public Libraries Act of 1919. It is something to know that with library co-operation being rapidly developed, we are now achieving a system by which readers anywhere can obtain books necessary for serious study.

CHARLES GIMBLETT.

The Magnet of the Heart. By Robert Menzies. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d.)

This is a book of forceful, winsome, evangelistic sermons. They will, as the author hopes, evoke personal allegiance to Jesus Christ. They bring to this disillusioned age the gospel that is sorely needed. The themes naturally fall into five groups. These are the significance of Jesus, His exclusive claims, His benefits, His challenge and His offers. Each sermon is marked by restrained imagination, effective illustration and a direct appeal. These features combine to produce a book of sermons that will enrich the Church, save the lost and build up the faith of believers. Such a book is both valuable and welcome.

Transactions of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. Vol. X. (Longmans. 18s. 0d.)

The work and life of Sir J. C. Bose borders on the miraculous. His researches bear the mark of genius, since they exemplify an infinite capacity for taking pains. The man who proved that plants could write their autographs has gone on in his Institute to study the effect of age in plants, their reaction to light and heat and the mystery of their vitamin content. In the realms of anthropology and of physics his discoveries will claim the attention of the student and evoke the wonder of the thoughtful reader. This book is primarily for the advanced worker and the illustrations are many and valuable.

Studies in Psalms. By J. E. McFadyen. *According to St. Luke.* By Hugh Martin. *Vitality.* By Malcolm Spencer. (S.C.M.P. 1s. each.)

These three excellent books have justified, by their popularity, their reprinting in the Religion and Life Books Series of the S.C.M. The first appeared over twenty years ago and its value has increased with time. It offers a devotional course on ten psalms and reveals much insight on the part of the author. *According to St. Luke* is a book worthy of a place in any library. Its value will be enhanced by this revised edition. The studies are of the Person and teaching of Christ. *Vitality*, by Malcolm Spencer, is a life kindling book with four valuable appendices. In its definition of the vitality of God and man and how the first reaches the second and may be fostered, it is a most helpful volume. This series of books deserves the attention of preachers and teachers alike and offers remarkable value.

Rosecraft. By Harry A. Day. (Methuen. 2s. 6d.)

To the long list of books devoted to the cult of the Queen of Flowers we welcome Mr. Harry A. Day's *Rosecraft*. It is but a small book, but within its eighty-six pages there is contained all that the average rose-grower needs to know. In a bright and interesting way the author deals with all branches of rose-growing, and under the headings of Perfume and Colour gives some valuable lists of roses. In the chapter devoted to the culture of roses there is some very valuable information relating to the task of pruning, a task in which the amateur so often goes wrong. Under Mr. Day's guidance anyone, even a novice, should be able to prune a rose tree correctly. Four chapters of the book are devoted to the description of the various types of roses and their special needs. Not the least useful part of the book is its last chapter, entitled 'My Rose Diary' in which Mr. Day gives a compendium of work to be undertaken for each month of the year. An excellent index completes the whole. H.M.D.

Religious Instruction. Bk. I. By Alfred E. Ikin. (Nelson 2s. 6d.)

This handbook is chiefly to help Day School teachers and is to be used alongside the many excellent Agreed Syllabuses of Religious Instruction now in use by Local Educational Authorities. This volume deals with the Religious Instruction of Pupils up to seven years of age. There are brief chapters on Child Psychology, Suggestion for Council Schools, The Art of Story Telling, and Notes on Lessons. One can perceive the influence of the British Sunday-School Lesson Council on the general make up of the Lessons. There is an excellent closing chapter on Elementary Education before and after 1870 with notes on the various Education Acts. This is a very useful little volume; we shall look forward to the two volumes to follow with pleasure. Every Day School teacher should get a copy.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Hibbert Journal (April).—This number lives up to its well-known reputation for excellent writing, wide survey and abundant, provocative thought. Colonel T. B. Luard writes on 'Why I do not go to Church', in which we are regaled to a thorough-going attack on the Church and the clergy, and on the Christianity of the modern Church. According to the gallant writer the New Testament has fallen to pieces before our eyes and has no value as history; further, he cannot accept the worship of Jesus, because 'this cult is enveloped in a tissue of myth and legend'. What the writer means, after such slashings, when he says: 'Christianity has nothing to fear if she has faith in herself' is difficult to fathom. Equally difficult to understand after his destructive statements is such a sentence as: 'Christian spiritual experience and spiritual power could yet save and transfigure the world.' It appears that the most pressing need at the moment is for a liturgy of public worship that would give expression to our common faith. That lack is apparently the reason why he does not go to church. There is an excellent short article by Professor J. H. Muirhead on, 'The Archbishop's Call to the Nation'. And an eloquent discussion by J. A. Spender on, 'History Perverted into Propaganda'. And then there is the expected reply to Dr. Micklem's tribute to Calvin in the previous issue of the Journal, from the strong pen of Dr. Garvie. A long and illuminating consideration of Karl Barth as a Post-War prophet is by M. Channing-Pearce. The doleful picture of A. E. Housman as poet and pessimist is strongly portrayed. A curious article by Lieut.-Colonel E. N. Mozley on, 'The Philosophy of Defeat', amounts to a plea for defeat. But the pick of the Journal is an important and searching consideration of national and international relationships by W. Watkin Davies. This contribution of itself would make this number worth-while. Under the title of 'Neighbourhood or Brotherhood?' there is a balanced and widely-informed and even fascinating discussion on this vital matter of the relationships of the peoples of the world. And the whole feast ends as usual with excellent Reviews.

Religion in Education (April).—Under the capable editorship of Dr. Basil Yeaxlee this issue contains many interesting features. The contributors have been well chosen, being specialists in their different spheres. The first article, which is by Dr. Oesterley, gives a scholarly account of the Synagogue. Dr. Theodore Robinson follows with an extremely vivid and interesting description of the life, the times, and the teaching of the prophet Amos. An American Professor, Dr. A. J. W. Myers, after showing that the great complexity and variety of the literature of the Bible make it specially difficult to use in education, indicates for the guidance of the teacher the best

lines to follow in giving Christian instruction. Other interesting contributions deal with such subjects as the 'Revolutionizing of our New Testament Teaching', 'The Imagination in Religion', and 'Teaching Divinity to Science Specialists'. As usual, the Reviews and Annotations of new books are not the least useful section.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review (April).—This number (xxx. 2) has little for the theologian or the biblical student. It contains three articles. The first is by William Thomson, of Harvard University, dealing with The Renaissance of Islam. Lewis Hanke, of the same University, writes an interesting and learned essay on Pope Paul III and the American Indians. In this he challenges the common assertion of both ecclesiastical and secular historians who acclaim Paul III as the great friend and protector of the American Indians, tells the story of the successful vindication by the Emperor Charles V of his ecclesiastical privileges in the new world, and shows that the battles with Bishop Garcés of Tlaxcala and an obscure wandering friar, Bernadino de Minaya, waged in the cause of the American Indians were not fought wholly in vain. Harold Mattingley, of the British Museum, has a fascinating study of the Roman 'Virtues', showing that 'Christianity was able to absorb almost without residue the pagan cult of the Virtues. They became, in effect, Christian angels, so far as they did not fade into the substanceless thing that personifications are to-day'.

Religion in Life—The Winter Number, 1936, (VI. 1) has a wide variety of essays which arrest attention, and testify to the alertness of Dr. Langdale, the very able editor of this valuable American Christian Quarterly. The first four articles claim attention by the names of the writers. Dr. Adams Brown writes about 'The Need and the Possibility of an Ecumenical Theology'. The Marquess of Lothian's subject is 'The Demonic Influence of National Sovereignty', The Archbishop of York (mistakenly described as *Right* Reverend instead of *Most* Reverend!) discourses about 'Christian Faith and the Common Life'. Dr. James Moffatt's title is simply 'John'. But this is not an excursion into New Testament criticism but a very timely account of John of Antioch and Constantinople in later centuries known as Chrysostom. 'One of the most ominous and significant things in the story of John's life is the reason why he was persecuted; it was not for heterodoxy—that was generally a pretext—but for having made matters too hot for worldly minded Christians among the clergy as well as among the laity.' 'No one could say of John that he was born a man and died a preacher. He was never more of a man than in the dragging days at the end of his career. These three years broke nothing but his health—he died in his enemies' day and in the peace of God.' There are many other articles which deserve mention, but there is space here for only one reference. John Paterson after seventeen years as a Presbyterian minister in Scotland followed that great 'rabbi', R. W. Rogers, in the Hebrew chair

at Drew University. During the last six years he has spent many Sundays in the pew, and his experiences of American preaching have led him to write a pungent article, which many an English preacher might ponder to his great advantage: 'The Business of Preaching.' Altogether it is an excellent number.

The Spring Number, 1937, (VI. 2) is not of so high a quality. Perhaps the best articles are those by the President of Princeton Theological Seminary under the title, 'The Restoration of Theology', and by John C. Bennett, of Auburn Theological Seminary, 'The Contribution of Reinhold Niebuhr'. In view of the great interest which this Christian Marxist has aroused of late in this country, readers will find a special value in this critical appreciation of the position taken up by that influential American professor. John Foster Dulles, a well-known American lawyer, writes sensibly about 'The Problem of Peace in a Dynamic World'. Dr. Charles F. Wishart, President of Wooster College, Ohio, chooses as his title, 'James—Practical Mystic'. But there is little in his essay to justify the title. The only British contributor to this number is Dr. R. Birch Hoyle, with a curious miscellany headed, 'The Holy Spirit in the Poets', in which he misquotes Matthew Arnold twice in four lines. Perhaps the printer is to blame. There are several other articles of interest and some good book notices.

FOREIGN

The Moslem World (April).—The Editorial article is written by Dr. E. E. Calverley, one of the Associate Editors, who deals with the Cross and Islam. Moslems believe that Allah did not allow the Jews to crucify Jesus upon whom the divine favour rested. With the exception of one sect, all Mahommedans believe that Jesus ascended into Heaven. They regard the prevention of the death of Christ as a proof of Allah's care of His prophet, His apostle, His word and His Spirit, all of which they assert Jesus to be. For all Islam the cross still means ignominy and shame. This makes it very difficult to shew Moslems that the essence of Christianity is self-sacrifice as exemplified in Christ; more difficult still to offer them salvation through the atonement.

Many people have been puzzled by Heb. 1. 6, 'Let all the angels of God worship him'. Dr. Zwemer does not profess to remove the difficulties but he draws attention to the curious reference in the Koran to the refusal of the devil to obey the divine command that all the angels should worship Adam, and suggests that it may throw light on this obscure passage.

Mr. Paul McElroy shews how the advance of modern science is responsible for disintegration throughout Islam which everywhere is in a state of transition. A full translation is given of the *Saranjam* (Final Word), the sacred book of a Mahommedan sect known as the *Ahl-i-Haqq*. Here will be found many curious references to the various manifestations of God in material form. There is also a discussion of the word used for Joseph's coat (*qamis*) in the Koran.